THE KINDS OF WORK AND DIVISIONS OF LABOUR THIS CENTURY. A SURVEY OF BELLINGHAM, A BORDER MARKET TOWN.

by

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SUMMARY

This is a sociological study of Bellingham, a border market town. This community is an evolved aggregation of institutions and naturally occurring social groups. Whilst it has a certain territorial affinity and characteristics which are attributable to local history and evolved standards and values associated with this, its most obvious traits are the persisting sense of belonging generated in its members and the peculiar dynamic social system it supports. Constant change and adjustment take place in response to overlapping multi-directional chain reactions arising from nation wide extrinsic influences and internal development.

Work in its broadest sense is the primary focus of this research and a qualitative approach is adopted, seventy-two current members being interviewed, using a semi structured interview technique. However, participant observation, questionnaires, a local survey and documentary evidence including archival material are also valuable source material. The changing make up of household groups, local kinship patterns, unpaid work, including caring and employment are examined in depth.

It was found that there is a strong controlling effect on the members, the majority of whom were born there. Primary socialization tends to induce women to accept their role as wives and mothers. Household groups of origin continue to give support as long as they exist and whilst the last member used to be incorporated into a younger household group, he/she tends to be supported by a combination of state aid, kin help and neighbour support within his/her own home, today. Markedly patrilineal for most of this century, longevity and employment patterns have brought change to a society which is marginally matrilineal, today. Unmarried children live within their household group of origin until marriage.

Employment together with changes in transport have brought about greater stability within household groups and less geographical movement of families. Members of the community tend to live and work in/from the village today, professional members being the most likely to be geographically mobile.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

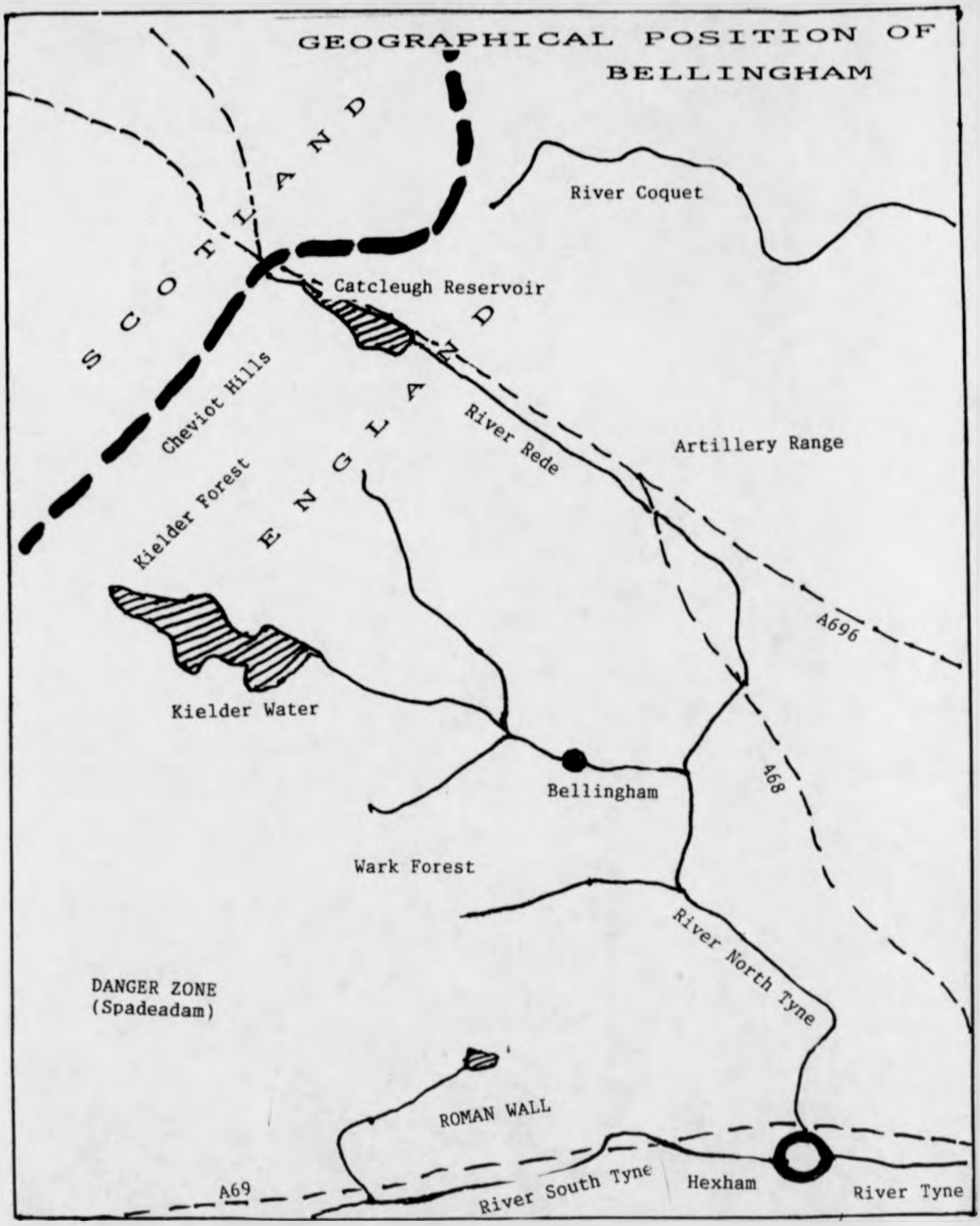
I am indebted to Dr. Ian Procter for his assiduous help and constant support.

My thanks are also due to Professor Robert Burgess for his help during the early stages.

I am also grateful to my immediate family for their interest and support, particularly in the field of microcomputer technology.

In addition I would like to express my gratitude for the cooperation of the many members of the Bellingham community, both past and present, without which this piece of work would not have been possible.

INTRODUCTION


GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF BELLINGHAM
SCOTLAND
ENGLAND
River Coquet
Catcleugh Reservoir
Cheviot Hills
Kielder Forest
River Rede
Artillery Range
A696
Kielder Water
Bellingham
468
Wark Forest
River North Tyne
DANGER ZONE
(Spadeadam)
ROMAN WALL
A69
River South Tyne
Hexham
River Tyne

Introduction

This is a sociological study of Bellingham, a border settlement which lies near the foothills of the Cheviots. Recently, outside the immediate area, its name has been removed from sign posts in favour of Kielder Water. Although, Bellingham has a charter and is referred to in some older documents as a market town, it is in no way an urban conurbation and demographic details, such as its electoral population of 856 in 348 dwellings (plus 236 in 91 farm & hamlet homes), clearly indicate that it could be more accurately described as a village. It is near the confluence of the North Tyne and the Rede and is the most prominent population centre in the sparsely populated border area of Northern England where it is located. It is far removed from either motorway or rail link and is not even served directly by an "A" class road. This part of Northumberland, the least densely populated county in England, is situated in the same rural district as stretches of the Roman Wall, a part of the Pennine Way, Kielder Forest and Kielder Water. In the same area, the lonely beauty of fells also contains a military training camp and gunnery range. Locally, the importance of Bellingham is as a focus of activity within the district.

This piece of work was preceded by an in depth study of the change in social situation of a group of thirty-five Bellingham children in 1937 and the same group in 1987. It established the existence of fundamental characteristics of the social group, such as a system of values and accepted codes of behaviour, which had been generated by the system. The current study aims to note and assess the consequences of such distinguishing basic traits and attempts to construct a holistic

picture of the evolution, during the twentieth century, of the social system which has been long established. Much of the evidence was collected by means of participant observation and various forms of interview, including seventy-two semi-structured interviews with the survey subjects, but extensive use was also made of several types of documentary evidence, including archive material (see chapter 1).

Work, in its broadest sense, is used as a primary focus. Attitudes to this are used as a means of indicating some of the principal standards, characteristics and activities of the village residents. All the seventy-two survey subjects live in Bellingham, today. Reference is made to snapshots of its development throughout a ninety year period of historical time, reinforced by reference to biographical histories of selected village residents. This longitudinal approach is intended to highlight the evolution of the social system under examination and seeks to record the changes within it. Nevertheless, in order to provide a contextual basis for this examination and a fuller appreciation of the implications and consequences of some of the relevant factors involved and conclusions reached, other aspects of the social system, such as the changing composition of household groups and kinship, are noted and examined.

As part of the study of work, the significance of gender, in respect of the assignment of tasks and assumption of responsibilities, is also noted. This particular view of work throws into stark relief the controlling effect of the system under review. For instance, constraints have been placed upon the social identity of women, within the system, by means of the clear definition of tasks and skills which are appropriate to their assigned roles, via accepted norms and shared

social standards. It is readily apparent that such limitation, by the kind of social setting in which they have developed, is liable to affect their life chances. For example, there is an acceptance of the primacy of the need to marry and bear children, an acceptance which is not uncommon to other areas.

Bearing in mind Stacey's (1969,p.17) advice that "...the most valuable researches in the field of sociology are those which can be used comparatively", the characteristics of the social system were noted and an attempt was made to classify the conglomerate of groups and institutions. This, seemed to lead inevitably to the establishment of the village's credentials as a community in the broadly accepted sense of the word. Such a conclusion was not readily accepted, especially since a body of opinion, in sociology, has recently questioned the very existence of communities as valid social structures in the world of today. For example, emigration from Ireland (Brody, 1973) and immigration into Suffolk (Robin, 1980) are cited as obvious instances of the degeneration of communities and it has been suggested, that the function of community is now largely supplanted by support and control emanating from formal structures such as departments of national government (Warren, 1963).

Evidence collected for this study did not endorse such a view. It indicated that a dynamic social system, the influence of which extends to nearby hamlets, farms and smaller villages, is centred on Bellingham. This system has also been largely responsible, during the period being examined, for the development of accepted standards and the maintenance of homoeostasis between members of the set of overlapping groups and institutions which can be regarded as its component parts. The

membership of the system changes, and the size and nature of groups alters but the existence of the system is beyond reasonable doubt. The majority of its members, today, were born into the social situation in which they operate and their membership and sense of belonging is a cardinal point of their personal identity. As the work progressed, it became increasingly apparent that the hypothesis that a community exists in Bellingham must assume the existence of community as a valid social structure and lengthy consideration is given to this (see chapter 2).

The importance of its constituent groups also began to emerge. Among these were the household groups (see chapter 3). They, based primarily on the nuclear family, like the individuals of whom they are composed, exist for a limited part of historical time. The tendency of the community to change, in response to alterations of nation wide societal trends and extrinsic influences is also evident. Over the time span in question, household groups have declined in size but increased in numbers. During the earlier part of the century, these groups were liable to be subject to much more frequent variations in size than they have been during more recent times. This increase in stability is due to developments which have had obvious consequences in other parts of the local social system. For example, changes in employment patterns, improved transport facilities, and the increase in real income of the villagers have induced changes throughout the social system.

Household groups continue to be sources of support. They adopt the occasional member and re-absorb returning members, but the instances where this support is driven almost entirely by economic necessity are greatly reduced. Elderly members show a marked preference to stay in their own homes or move into sheltered accommodation. Currently,

instances of the old being incorporated into the household group of kin are rare, and the trend is for younger members to stay within their household group of origin until they become founder members of a new group. In most cases this occurs immediately after marriage, when independent accommodation for the newly married couple is the norm.

Much of the interconnection between household groups is furnished by kinship (see chapter 4). The tie that exists between spouses is, in effect, a connection between kinship groups, which is reinforced by the two-way kin links, provided by the offspring of the couple. Such a connection is known throughout the community and acknowledged across several generations. Hence, the kin groups which are themselves compounds of household groups are connected by a complex system of both direct and indirect linkages. This system, which spans the period of historical time under examination, enmeshes the established families of the community and provides a ready means of assimilation for any "incomer". However, the strong patrilineal bias, evident for most of this century, has been replaced by one that is, marginally, matrilineal. There has also been a change of emphasis in the main direction of bonding. The earlier strong horizontal bonds across a generation, have been replaced by a more pronounced vertical adhesion between successive generations. Clearly this is linked to the reduction in the size of the constituent nuclear groups and increased longevity.

One of the areas of community life which has, over the years depended upon the strength of kinship is caring (see chapter 5). It is perhaps in this sector of community life that change has been the most marked throughout the duration of the study period. Beginning with the introduction of the National Health Service, the period which followed

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World War II, was a time of radical change followed by a period of accelerated development in the field of social welfare, the impact of which altered patterns of caring which had, until then developed only slowly in the community. However, it is significant to note that the provision of this kind of assistance, even on such a wide and greatly enlarged scale did not reduce the level of informal community care which had, hitherto proved to be such a characteristic part of the social situation, which prevailed in the village. There are even grounds for supposing that the accompanying rise of level of expectations, increased longevity and increase in leisure time have prompted a greater input by the informal community care system. Nevertheless, the most obvious response was that the social structure merely adjusted to the external input, altering the points of application and accent of informal care in such a way as to maximize the new benefits. An interesting recent development, supported by Bellingham members, has been the introduction of nursing home facilities within an hotel complex at the nearby Otterburn village.

The circumstances which pertained at the outset of the survey period meant that mutual support within the group, such as community care, was of crucial importance. In the case of most household groups this also necessitated the provision of unpaid work, if the quality of life was to rise above subsistence level (see chapter 6). At this time wages were low and incomes tended to be unreliable. It seems paradoxical that there is much more time for unpaid work today, when the threat of destitution that once stalked many villagers is past. The availability of this extra time is due to factors which have developed in tandem with the social changes which removed the threat of the work house and

poverty, such as a reduction in working hours, an increase in disposable income and the development of domestic technology, which have effectively lightened the work load. Unwaged work continues to be a feature of village life but its main emphasis has, during the course of the century, moved away from the provision of basic necessities towards more leisure oriented activities. Its area of application has also changed, moving from the household group of the donor to include associated households. It continues to enrich the quality of life, albeit at a much higher level than early in the century.

There has also been a comparable change in employment (see chapter 7). Mechanization has reduced the agricultural work force and residential work has declined. Community members can nowadays be a little more fastidious about the kind of jobs they accept. Increased educational opportunities and training facilities have also allowed them access to a wider field of employment. Greater affluence and improved road networks have also extended the geographical area which is within commuting distance of the village. Although the hiring marts no longer take place, the local job market still relies far more heavily on local knowledge than formal methods such as advertisements and application forms. For most people the community intelligence network is the principal source of information with regard to basic facts such as the personal qualities of employer or employee, the type of work, wage levels and vacancies.

It was the circumstances of my own biography which first prompted me to think that the social system in this village was worthy of examination. I was born in Bellingham and reared there among people whose identity depended upon their communally defined places within the

social system, which encompassed the residents of the village. Throughout my early childhood, its standards represented the norm and its values provided the basic template for codes of conduct and the absolute standards against which these could be judged. The resultant social mores influenced every aspect of village life and provided security as well as control. Despite this structure, I was conscious that the system was changing as older members recalled times past. In retrospect, some of their affection for this, can be identified as nostalgia for the days of early life. Nevertheless, their tales did not refer to a golden age. They often told of deprivation and hardship, some of which was still widespread in the thirties.

Concurrently, I became aware that there were some people who did not conform to the norm. These were, not only the drunk and the unemployed but those whose deviance could be readily understood. These included the mentally ill, the consumptive, and those "on the Parish" as well as the rector, the doctor and the bank manager, who even spoke differently and the occasional incomer who used a strange dialect. Their means of communication and some of the standards that their life styles evinced were regarded as being echoes of life in other areas. The same explanation seemed apt with regard to the abnormalities demonstrated by the "wireless" and a twice weekly picture show which was instituted in the community hall. Later, during World War II, attempts to foster a feeling of national unity often gave rise to outright jingoism. This seemed to support an idea of uniformity which suggested that some standards were common throughout the nation.

My first doubts, about some of the Bellingham values being acceptable elsewhere, arose, when I enrolled at the local girls' grammar

school, situated in the nearby market town. I began to wonder whether the difference in standards and social mores between those which were prevalent in Bellingham and beyond showed that the village was merely different from many other settlements or unique. As my awareness of the world expanded, I saw that Bellingham might be classified as one of a group of similar social systems such as an agricultural community or a north of England rural village. This led me to suppose that the social structure of the village and the local standards would probably be remarkably similar to those of other communities. Curiosity about this, stimulated my interest in other settlements and their inhabitants.

I first lived outside the village, during the time I attended a teachers' training college. Next, I did so in order to obtain further qualifications and then in pursuance of career advancement. Shortly after this, I left the village, following my marriage, and I have subsequently lived in three very different parts of this country. The size of the social settlements in which I have lived has varied from a group of four isolated houses in the countryside to my present home in Greater London. The locations of my home, during these years, have also included Liverpool, the Lake District, Canterbury and the Peterlee new town in Durham. These locations have brought me into contact with people who had spent their formative years in a wide variety of districts and settlements. They included not only the locals but incomers from near and far. I listened to their accounts of the widely differing social climates, which they had once regarded as usual or normal, perceiving the existence of both familiar and alien ways of life, such as this in Ruislip with its closed doors, the very antithesis of that in Bellingham.

However, detecting echoes of life in my birth place in some of these comments, I was drawn towards examining life there in a more objective way than I had ever done previously, in order to help to establish the degree of reality which could be ascribed to the supposed similarities and differences between the accounts I had heard and life in my home village.

CHAPTER ONE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an account of the methods used for this research and the reasons for their selection. It includes a brief outline of factors, which are potential threats to objectivity, such as personal details of the researcher including background, experience in the field of research and courses previously attended. The location of the survey and a description of the social and geographical context are also explained and the implications of these details, with regard to basic requirements of the work in hand, such as the ease of collection of research material, its reliabily and quality. The type and sources of the data collected are also detailed, including the balance between material obtained from documentary evidence, questionaires, informal interviews and participant observation.

The strategy for obtaining this data, which led to the utilization of these sources is explained, and comment on its connection with the broad qualitative approach adopted for the piece of work, is made. The use of a computer for the storing of the research material collected and the resultant analysis of the material is also touched upon as is the synthesization of the strategy employed and its evolution as the research progressed.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Not only is research a learning experience, but Burgess (1984) makes clear ,"... that research is a social process" involving, the "techniques of social investigation" and concerned with the source of the research which is usually allied to previous study, the proposal,

its funding, the possible wider reading and study involved in finding a specific focus, the choice of location, the initial access to the field, the giving of clear explanations about the task in hand, the analytical accounts of relationships formed in the field, the involvement of the observer, the methodology, as well as how data is recorded and analyses formulated, the changes brought about in the project and the reasons for such, and, in conclusion, studying how the "evidence is accepted, rejected and received" (p.252). Hammond emphasises, also, that, "theory and research" are part of a whole, for synthesis as well as analysis is important in struggling with the data; the research process is concerned with "evolving conceptual skills" (p.3). Burgess goes on to say that it could be valuable to include details of the discipline favoured by the researcher, the source of primary training and schooling in methodological research, also. He points out that among details which give enlightenment to a study are the age and experience of the researcher, the place of such research within his or her biography, the influence of colleagues at various junctures, the academic location and, if funded, the relationship between researcher and sponsor. Such an adapted framework seems suitable on which to base this narrative.

AGE & EXPERIENCE OF SELF

I was born during September, 1930, in the rented house which was the home of origin of my father and grandfather. It had been built for my great grandfather, the first tenant of the two roomed detached house, with its smithy outbuilding. As far as practical purposes were concerned, I was the third child of the family; my younger brother was born two years later. My elder half brother did not count during the

early part of my life; he joined us for dinner on sundays when my sister had hers with "Auntie Meg". She, at this time, was our closest neighbour. The tenants of the three houses nearest ours were her affines and my father's neighbours throughout his life. Unaware of more orthodox aspects of privacy, we had access to our neighbours' homes, at all times, and they to ours. The foundation of my interest in community study was laid then. It was an integral part of my early life that tales of the past, gossip of the present and plans for the future were presented around the fireside, in the craftsmen's work places and the local shops. It is in such a way that community time is coalesced and collective memory spans an indeterminate number of years.

World War II brought rapid change. Swamped by evacuees and their teachers, but helped by newly found competition and encouragement, I went on to travel to grammar school and board at Teachers' Training College. Some of my teen-age holidays were spent picking fruit with the rector. Payment was twopence per pound. Much more was gained from spending long hours talking and reflecting on a one to one basis. I returned to teach in Bellingham, in which my great great grandfather had been village school master so many years before. Because of my local connections, soon after taking up an appointment in the area modern school, I was presented with a heavy green ledger and given the local task of completing a questionnaire for the Sheffield-based language survey. Marriage took me away from the area in 1960, but I have continued to have close contact with the community since that time.

UNIVERSITY COURSES ATTENDED

For several years I lived, lived and worked or worked in all

types of schools until, acutely aware of changing standards within the secondary sector, I applied for a place on a part-time "Advanced Diploma Course in Education" at Brunel University to try to come to terms with modern trends. The class was combined with those registered for M.Ed.. The L.E.A. paid half my fees and allowed leave of absence on one afternoon each week for two years. It was during this course that I was introduced to "sociology" for the first time. The impact of papers on working class children was great and I was encouraged to write an essay on the life experiences of the adults with whom I had shared my early childhood. It was suggested, then, that I should register for M.Phil.. The head teacher and the Director of Education refused to support my application, claiming that such a qualification would be far in excess of what they required me to have. A family decision was taken to pay the fees for part-time study, lectures in the "sociology of education" were re-scheduled and my serious interest in research began. My husband was to register for a similar degree a year later. Such were the problems we encountered, that we had willingly grasped the chance of early retirement, and our twin daughters, who were beginning secondary school when we began our studies, had completed their first and second degree courses, before we had our first dissertations accepted.

PLACE OF PRESENT RESEARCH

My first piece of research was intended to provide a serious analysis of the rural community of Bellingham based on data collected from the thirty-five adults, who had been my contemporaries, during childhood. Having already been traced, they were interviewed and longitudinal studies were made of their housing, education, kinship,

family life, neighbours, employment and social and geographical mobility. On a broad front, it was found that the way of life in Bellingham had changed in a kaleidoscopic fashion. In retrospect, the piece of research proved to be an attempt at analysis of too much data for one person, whose experience was limited. In addition, the survey group was not truly representative of the community as a whole. Burgess says that the source of research is usually allied to previous work and mine is no exception. For my second dissertation, I intended to look at the changing job patterns and community attitudes to role differentiation since 1881 in Bellingham. However, the wider reading involved in finding a specific focus, helped me to formulate the title of:-

The Kinds of Work and Divisions of Labour this Century. A Survey of Bellingham, a border market town.

WIDER READING & INFLUENCE OF COLLEAGUES

Porter (Burgess, 1984) suggests that facilities should be better for part-time students. At Warwick university, I have been fortunate in being given similar facilities to full-time students. However, Roberts emphasises that "the literature (could) form(s) the intellectual background to the research" (1981,p.5). The library facilities within the university seem poor and and I relied heavily upon the goodwill of Dr. Ian Procter, my supervisor. I discovered that the L.E.A. inter library loan facility was relatively inexpensive and very reliable.

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criticisms and more structured help, I was encouraged to read widely in various directions particularly during my first year of study, focussing on oral history, rural community studies, changing work patterns this century, the household group, small work group differentiation, as well as on family and kinship groups. I was fortunate, also, in having the personal advice of Professor Robert Burgess as I planned my future strategy. Other tutors and students gave their valuable help during regular seminars. My daughters and husband went on to complete their research and such shared experiences were very valuable and enlightening for me, also. However, having begun first, I am left very much behind the others.

My literature search on the kinds of work and divisions of labour in England and Wales this century, provided me with the theme, "Family organisation of work" and I went on to hypothesize that whilst the usual residential unit in Bellingham today is based on the nuclear family, the economic unit stretches beyond, as do many of the working groups. It is worth noting that Hammond suggests that hypotheses may be too restrictive (p.13) whilst Burgess suggests that research topics are subject to constant change and mine were, also.

As I intended to look at work in its widest sense, much of the evidence could only be found by going into the field and making enquiries. Changing the date of the beginning of the study to 1900 ensured that I was able to concentrate on oral history and leave alone oral tradition. Vansina (1985) suggests that oral evidence should be collected in the field by those who are familiar with both the culture and language. Thompson (1978) also emphasises that the more the interviewer knows, the more likely it will be that historical

information will be elicited from interviews. In these respects, I fulfilled the criteria for using such a method.

A significant proportion of the material, which was collected during the literature search provided useful background reading and was clearly of great use, with regard to the task in hand. For example, Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel's (1981) discussion of the relative values of the micro and macro views of society highlights the strengths and the weaknesses in both. By implication, it emphasizes the dangers inherent in relying too heavily on any one approach when researching social phenomena. It also cautions that potentially rich sources of material can easily be ignored, stressing the possible value of material such as evidence of the reflexive thoughts during social interaction and the value, to the researcher, of paying heed to conversational rules and the effect of local conditions. Burgess also stresses that more than one method of investigation is used in case study research. These, he suggests, may include observation, participant observation, interviews or questionnaires and documentary materials (p.260). Following such a pattern, it was at this stage that I began to seek further sources of documentary evidence.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

We camped nearby and I spent a week with my husband in "The Northumbrian Archives", both of us looking and recording everything that could be useful. Among interesting documents were the Parish Records of births, deaths and marriages, Bellingham Petty Sessions Records, the District Council's records and the Reeds' Charity School log book. I recorded as much information as I could find regarding the Armstrong

kinship group, being aware that it could be important with regard to household and kinship group connections. I had been struck, in my earlier study, that the configurational relationship of potential informants could be linked to this group. Some kinship groups expand and grow and this one appeared to be connected to all the household groups within Bellingham, with the exception of the most recently arrived. Rosser & Harris point out that:-

> If one had time enough to spend on this exercise, it would be possible to sit down with an informant, better still with a household group, particularly if this contains an elderly woman, and record the family tree thoroughly section by section to its farthest limits, in the memory of the informant or household group, including remote relatives through marriage (1965,p.196).

This I had done with two elderly survey subjects, during a pilot study.

Facts, which proved to be useful, especially for the purposes of triangulation were also available from other sources. For example, a marriage certificate records the occupations of the groom, his father and father-in-law. From the record of a legitimate birth, it is also possible to find the father's employment and thus compile a father's job ladder during the early years of marriage by looking at the births in a family. I also examined early copies of the local newspaper. Living within easy reach of central London also proved to be valuable, providing ready access to central archive information. In this connection, we spent several days, as readers, in the British Library obtaining copies of selected electoral rolls and a copy of the 1891 Census of Bellingham from the "Office of Populations, Censuses & Surveys".

Nevertheless much valuable material was also obtained by exploiting local sources. These included both those publicly available such as

rolls of honour from wars and exhibitions of photographs, and private documents which were obtained with the aid of personal contacts, such as old ledgers, accounts, and cheque book stubs. I was also able to obtain unlimited access to private memorabilia such as collections of postcards, photographs and letters.

THE FIELD

Bellingham is an agricultural settlement in the border country of the north of England. It lies in the angle between the Pennines and the Cheviots where the tradition of the border reivers still represents a particular potency in folklore. A lack of major development of the roads which service the area coupled with the characteristics of the surrounding terrain could account for what appear to be distinctly insular community attitudes and, owing to the same geographical position, the valleys which converge at Bellingham, in many ways, seem cut off from the rest of the country. The large proportion of the indigenous population who are employed locally, together with the size and inter-relationship with neighbouring settlements, which make up the wider community, could be responsible for the sense of self-reliance. The remoteness of the area discourages activities which are heavily reliant on the ready availability of large numbers of people and members take on many roles. There is no easy access to a town, nor is there any allegiance to one specific city. Occasional journeys are made to shop or to attend football matches in Newcastle or Sunderland. An alternative for shopping is Carlisle or even Hawick or Edinburgh.

CHAPTER 1 - METHODOLOGY

FIELD TACTICS

Access to the field and key informants

Burgess' warning that field tactics may influence data was kept in mind (1984, p.261). I own a small piece of land in Bellingham and, whenever I choose, park a folding caravan there. This ensured that access to the field was not a problem. I was able to use key informants already known to me. For instance, one was Hazel, a contemporary, who runs the baker's shop whilst her husband and son manage the bakery. One of her occasional helpers is Joan, the wife of the recently retired sub-postmaster, who was born in the village. She wrote and offered me any help. She proved to be another influential informant. Other contemporaries and members of their families of origin or procreation became informants, too. I was apprehensive as I was about to begin, for a "Market Research" team had been operating in the area that year. Joe, "Auntie Meg's nephew", and his second wife, gave a very dramatic account of refusing to be interviewed by house callers who became telephone callers, "...phoning up on several occasions and finally writing offering a five pounds' Marks & Spencers' gift token"- scarcely a well thought out piece of research considering the cost involved in reaching that store.

The selection of the study group

This study is concerned with the changing group of people who were residents of Bellingham over a period of ninety years. Details concerning a majority of these people were available. Within a previous survey I had made, on the advice of my current supervisor, were the names of the occupants of each Bellingham household in 1987, their occupations and the ages and school attended by their children. This

survey was updated. It was decided that seventy-two community members, of three cohorts, would be a study group, for special focus. Each cohort would include two groups, one of twelve men and another of twelve women. As far as was possible, they would be selected according to their jobs and consist of six engaged in manual work, three who were self employed or working within a family business and three whose employment could be termed "professional". Cohort I would be over sixty years of age, cohort II over thirty-five years and cohort III between eighteen and thirty four, inclusively.

The size of the study group was influenced by two main factors. The first was connected with the vast amount of potentially useful detailed information which was obtainable with regard to most subjects. In these circumstances, the number of subjects who could be used as principal foci in a piece of work conducted by one person was limited by the time available and the vast amount of data which came readily to hand. Such a wide range of material was available to be collected in respect of each subject that the data handling alone promised to be very time consuming indeed. Lofland (1971) points out that studies based on intensive interviewing, as mine would be, have typically used only between twenty and fifty subjects. The experience accumulated during a precursory study, personal connections with members of the social group in question, and familiarity with the subjects and their social context was obviously of considerable help in this area.

Burgess (1984) goes on to say that, "...the more homogeneous the universe, the more likely it is that probability and non-probability samples will manifest similar characteristics and results" (p.89). For me, a snowballing effect of finding respondents resulted. However,

various criteria had been established with regard to the make up of the survey group, before going into the field. I regarded that the selected survey subjects would belong to three cohorts of twenty-four each (twelve of each sex), 60+ (probably retirement), 35+ -60 (the plateau of job achievement), and under 35 years of age (establishing a niche in the work force).

A qualitative approach.

Bogdan and Taylor (1975) emphasize the value of "positive searches for facts and causes through methods such as survey questionnaires, inventories and demographic analysis, which produce quantitative data" (p.2). Nevertheless, they underline the fact that it is the function of the phenomenologist to seek understanding through qualitative methods, his/her aim being to see the world as his/her subjects see it. Other works, for example that of Schartz and Jacobs (1979) also endorse the value, in many areas, of qualitative methods. However, I went into the field with prepared tested questionnaires requiring personal, family and kinship details and an employment ladder which recorded various aspects of the survey subjects' jobs, throughout life, to be used for background material.

It was clear, at the outset, that the wide variety of information to be used, the range of personalities, the social and personal characteristics of the people involved, and the depth of the investigation required, left little alternative but to adopt such a qualitative method. This kind of strategy facilitated the exploitation of the particular circumstances in which I was working. It seemed likely that the picture which I sought would be difficult to obtain in any other way, if I was to make full use of my personal contacts in the

village. In any case, as Bogdan and Taylor (1975) point out, "qualitative research strives for understanding" and "descriptive material is unlikely to be quantifiable". Yin (1984) also highlights the value of qualitative research during the course of detailing the operation of case studies and multiple case study techniques. He indicates the advantage of operating within the real life context of a piece of research, not divorced from this context as a quantitative study, being confined to to a limited number of variables, could be. Consequently a qualitative approach was selected.

The collection of data.

Arranging interviews connected with this survey was very little problem. Almost all of them were arranged with the aid of personal contacts, village residents or taking an opportunistic approach. I had anticipated that access to younger members of the community could prove a problem. However, during the course of interviewing, I met another contemporary in the street. She was accompanied by her daughter who not only agreed to be interviewed but rang around several of her friends and made appointments for me for that evening. In such a way, most of these arrangements were proposed, and often completed, in the course of social interaction during one visit to Bellingham. How the final few were collected can best be understood by looking at personal notes (see overleaf).

In some cases it was not even necessary to broach the subject of an interview. On one occasion someone commented "A hear y' gan'n aboot ask'n folks questions," and on another, "Hev y' done tarkin' to folk aboot Bellingham." In other words I was cleared to ask the respondent to submit to an interview, or pass on an invitation to one of his/her kin.

PAGE II EXTRACTS FROM FIELD DIARY.
Final interviews.

Sunday, 9th April, 1989.
Look at the 1988 electoral roll to which has been added the ages of the children and what is of greater importance at this specific time, the jobs of the adults. I decide to classify housewives according to their previous jobs/ husbands' jobs.

Make a list of all possible survey subjects to fill the gaps. Outstanding are :-

3 men, aged 35-60 with professions. This should cause no problem as I can include one of two bank managers (however, I have already interviewed a retired one), a vicar, a Methodist minister, a lecturer, a retired man listed as Dr. and foresters.I note that the three doctors practising in Bellingham do not live there.

2 women, aged 35-60 of the professional class. Joan, an informant, has already asked Jane, a contemporary, to be one of them. It looks as though I shall have to ask Derek's wife, who is deputy-head at the middle school to be the other. Derek grew up in the same street as I did and is a former pupil, also.

3 men, aged 18-34+ who are in family business or self employed. We are going to camp opposite Pick's house. He, well over retirement age, is a self employed waggon driver and has encouraged some of his family to become self-employed, too. There is, also, the possibility of interviewing either the builder's son or a relative of the plumber.

2 men, aged 18-34+ of the professional classes. This is going to be a major problem- there do not appear to be any. Help will have to be sought or change the rules.

1 woman, aged 18-34+ involved in family business or self employed. A new fish & chip shop has opened. This could be followed up.

2 women, aged 18-34+ of the professional classes Last time I visited Bellingham I had met a contemporary of mine in the street. We were joined by her married daughter, who provisionally agreed to take part. Perhaps I shall find a young teacher living in Bellingham but last time I made enquiries, Mary's daughter was living away from home. Three others of whom I have details have also promised interviews.

I am unsure whether telephoning to make appointments would be advantageous or not. It would mean either phoning from Ruislip, asking to use some-one else's phone or using a call box. I decide not to do so as confrontation has worked well on previous occasions and some leeway exists. So far only Dorothy of the snack bar did not want to be interviewed but her mother did. I didn't push the interview as I had really called to interview her mother. What I am doing, or the villagers think I am doing, which after all is what influences attitudes, has gone before me. Joan is convinced that last time I interviewed those of working class and this time it is middle.

PAGE III EXTRACTS FROM FIELD DIARY.
This time, Arthur, my husband, has promised to help with the interviews so that I can finish them (he actually completed 4 interviews for me). I suspect he wants to get back to his own research so I pack two tape recorders, foot pedals, extension leads and batteries. I also pack Stella Artois and Creme de Cassis.

Monday, 10th April.

Arrive in rain to park folding caravan. 'Pick' rolls up to help. Meanwhile we are invited to have coffee with Pick's daughter-in-law to get out of the rain. I haven't met her before and suggest, "An interview". No problem- so the washing is left, the guard dog sent to its van whilst the two men deal with the caravan and the baby sleeps on. Interview completed. Arthur and I have coffee. His soaked coat is hung on a coathanger to dry. Return to van whilst M--- rushes out to speak to a passing friend and her eighteen month old daughter. An interview is arranged which takes place immediately in the caravan- she is married to a lecturer and is a relative newcomer to Bellingham. Husband, travelling daily, is attending an M.Ed. course in Durham and is about to become involved with research himself. She promises to send over her husband at 6.30.p.m. after he's had his tea and before 'Weight Watchers' for her. Go with Arthur for screws to mend the table. Have a gossip with Betty in the shop and wave to Robert as we pass the butcher's. Strangers in the grocer's!!! Arthur arranges to interview Pick's son and grandson at half-past seven. Both men are self-employed and as a bonus Arthur interviews the grandson's common-law wife (Dorothy's niece), also. Enough for one night. Exhausted- interviewing is draining! We meet my brother on the bridge coming to collect us. Still after long discussions have not found another professional man under 35 but the retired sergeant and his wife have just taken over the grocer's shop.

Participant Observation
1. M---'s washing machine had broken down. She was using her mother-in-law's.
2. Pick at various intervals took the baby to and from the two homes.

3. Only the married employees get their meat free.

4. Only Robert and one of the girls left in shop. All others at races.

5. It's a pity my informants could not be all of classes 3,4,5 and/or the old for they all want to take part. Several others are keen to help. I have a feeling that key informants have been selecting.

6. The men kept collecting at Pick's garage, sometimes working. I suspect it was mainly for a gossip. However, Arthur made his contacts there.

7. A car broke down on the hill. Within seconds three men from around were there to help so I wasn't the only one looking out of the windows. The mechanic was sent for and in desperation the car was pushed off the road for the night. One of Pick's grandsons, who was on the last day of

PAGE IV EXTRACTS FROM FIELD DIARY.
his holidays, made a useful errand boy. He seems to spend every spare moment with his grandfather- he was mending his byke.

8. Mothers and toddlers and/or babies meet in the Reed Hall on friday afternoons.

9. Survey subject, No 11, has died suddenly before his bungalow has been completed.

10.Xxxx's husband backed his new van through the fence and down a ten foot drop into the burn. Now labelled "Arnupp's Car Wash".

We decide that about ten o' clock would be a suitable time to try to interview, as school starts tomorrow.

Tuesday, 11th April.

The birds wake us before five o' clock. I'd forgotten how quiet the countryside is. Pick and an old man are very soon repairing a waggon. He has ordered two new ones and is awaiting delivery. It is pouring so I collect the now dry coat. Arthur sets off to try to interview the vicar. I go to interview Gillian and/or Jane. Gillian is in and explains she is to have another child in July. Her three year old daughter is next door being cared for by great grandmother so interview is easy and we discuss the possibility of finding professional men and women. She suggests that she'll ring up two newcomers- a forester and his teacher wife and a newly married girl who is married to an engineer working abroad. I'm just to go along in the evening and if it has been possible to arrange interviews I will be expected. Have a quick word with the great grandmother who brings back the little girl with tiny scones she has baked. There is one big scone which she explains she is going to eat. Return to caravan to find that the vicar's interview is over, too.

Still pouring- stair rods!! Go with Arthur to interview either Jane or the methodist minister and collect more screws to repair the caravan table. Jane is working in the greenhouse so we have coffee and complete the interview. Walking down the road, we meet, face-to-face, Graham who is seeing his wife off at the door. Joan has already persuaded Graham, a self-employed builder, to take part, so we go in and I begin another interview. It ends with his wife returning, his son calling in and everybody joining in the discussions. He mentions the 'cricket quiz' to be held in 'The Rose & Crown' that evening. That is going to limit who is available for interview.

Go up at half-past six to meet the forester (he is under 35) and his wife. We are expected and refuse home-made wine. Arthur fills in the form with husband in the living room whilst I interview his wife in the dining area. Have home-made wine. One tape recorder has proved to be poor. Complete interview with wife. Follow this with another of the husband. Dash off in the pouring rain to try to see the other girl at the gasworks. She isn't in. Persuade Arthur that twenty to nine isn't too late to interview Derek's wife, and we call. We complete the interview whilst Jill prepares a model for school. Derek is at the quiz.

PAGE V EXTRACTS FROM FIELD DIARY.
Again, I discuss the possibility of finding the now one professional under 35 with no success. Look over towards the gasworks to see if there are any lights as I am informed that if she is at home it will look like the illuminations.

I ask my nephew how old the lecturer is and it is decided that he is somewhere between 38 and 40. Much to my own disappointment, I look at my provisional list and reluctantly settle to interview an extra professional in the 35-60 age bracket- there seem to be several possibilities there.

Wednesday, 12th April.

The nearest possible interviewee is the lecturer who lives in Rose Cottage. I notice that the lecturer's young daughter is with Amy, at the bigger house nearby. It takes a while for his wife to answer the door but we are invited in. She wants her husband to take part and gives full background details of her husband and herself. I refuse the offer of the phone call which would have brought him back from Tees-side to complete the interview and arrange to call next time I'm up. She loves to talk. Leave Arthur at the forge and call to see if Catherine is in. She isn't. Go on to her mother's and find her there. They are ambitiously crocheting an old-fashioned matinee coat. They show me their practice round cushion- they haven't found out how to do the corners to make a square. Make myself useful here and recommend a ladybird book. Daphne and, I suspect Catherine have come a long way with the knitting machine since December and I admire all their work before interviewing Catherine.

I still have one man of the professional classes to interview. After lunch of Hazel's pasties and cakes, we take the car along to the Manse/Treeton House and wonder whether the Dr will be under 60. However, the decision is made for me for, as we park, the minister arrives, having walked back from Hazel's. He immediately invites us in whilst his wife goes off, instead, to visit the old. He is most helpful but his answer to the first question made my week- 33 years old. He is my last interviewee!!

Traced via a network of phone calls to be told that we should return to Ruislip to attend a crematorium service- a former colleague/employee has died.

Thursday & Friday
All schedules having been completed, we visit Joan and her husband to thank them for their help, thank Gillian and Rosa in the street and tell them that I now have 72 interviewees. Have a word with Hazel and her husband who stop their car as we walk up the lane. Visit most of my village and Durham relatives and one or two friends
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Thus, I was able to utilize an opportunistic approach for most of this kind of arrangement. My involvement with the precursory study also proved advantageous. By the time I had begun the current piece of work, I was accepted in the role of benign interrogator. It was thus that I benefited from the advantages of extensive long term study, which Watson (1977) maintains field work should be. The question of confidentiality posed no problems to the interviewees. They all readily agreed when asked permission to cite their recollections and opinions in my work. However, where information is controversial, it has been recorded as given by a survey subject, gender and cohort being given, also.

The questionnaire and interview.

I was fortunate for I knew of, or knew, all the survey subjects before filling in the questionnaires and was able to aim individual questions towards the acquisition of specific pieces of information, particularly during the informal interview, which followed collecting standard details. I set out to record information with regard to one, two or three stages in life according to the ages of the subjects which I termed family of origin, family of procreation and the depleted stage. These stages were for the most part, family of childhood, family of marriage including child/children and when children ceased to be dependent. Regarding family of origin, my approach to locals was to ask, "Which other relatives lived in Bellingham when you were a child?" Where doubts arose about relatives moving, and there were few of these, the time chosen was, "When you were five".

I filled in the household units, helped by the survey subjects and transposed them later into a form suitable for selected files, again choosing to record household groups rather than individuals, as the

former are subject to few changes during all stages of life. For those who either moved in or out of Bellingham as children, I made additional notes. Whilst analysing data for those resident in Bellingham and outside it, I included in both categories those who had been mobile (See fig. 1.1).

An example of a kinship chart which was included in the questionnaire (n.b. Household 1 would be home of origin).

1.1 KIN 1.FAMILY OF ORIGIN- survey subject No.004.

household 2	household 3	household 4	household 5	household 6
grandfather grandmother	uncle Tom aunt Meggie Billy Tommy Jane	uncle Johny aunt Pol Jimmy Mary Jane	uncle Jim aunt Florrie Margie Beth	+ the Wright all the Armstrongs all the Dodds
household 7	household 8	household 9	household10	household 11
Let's see 20				

This is filed as:-
1st Degree Households:- 1. 2nd Degree Households:- 4.
Other related Households- 20. Total:- 25.
In transferring the information into files, I regarded:-
1. First degree kin as mother, father and other siblings during stage I of life. To these were added children during stages II and III.
2. Second degree kin as grandparents, aunts and uncles during stage I. To these were added nieces, nephews and grandchildren at later stages.
3. Affines as spouse's kin.
4. Relatives as a total of kin and affines.

I recorded relationships as each survey subject perceived them, not always as I understood them to be. For example I was aware that two survey subjects whose grandfather had been illegitimate, chose not to recognize, or were unaware, that they were members of the biggest kinship group in Bellingham. Such is not unusual and Allan reports that the respondent who referred to himself as, "...'the black sheep' of the

family- was no longer in contact with a still-living parent" (1979,p.94) and Isa, the oldest Bellingham born survey subject, did ask me not to let too many skeletons, "Oot o' the cupboard".

With regard to those who spent all their childhood in a different area, I had to be more specific. It was at times necessary to use material gathered from one part of an interview, together with previously corroborated data, to substantiate answers given in another. I did not always have a reliable source of evidence, such as documentary proof (e.g. appropriate electoral rolls) to validate the data they provided. However, one survey subject born in a large mining village knew of eleven related households which seemed reasonable in view of the characteristics of such a community (See Dennis, Henrique & Slaughter, 1956).

I continued with my data collection by recording the number of related households for each subject throughout the duration of his/her family of procreation stage, in a similar manner to that used in respect of the earlier part of their lives. If, during the course of an interview, a subject pressed me for a specific time during this period, I suggested, "when their children were young". I am certain there was a distinct advantage to be gained from the fact that most of the subjects were known to me. This helped in the matter of understanding some of the answers, which often assumed local knowledge, including pseudonyms for people and places. Those who were neither native to the area nor had a spouse who belonged to one of the kinship groups generated less problems in the matter of the verification of research material at the procreation stage since it was unlikely that they would have any relatives in the community, beyond their immediate family. Kin

households were marked with a 'K' and 'A' marked those of affines.

Regarding data collection for the depleted stage, I was looking for material which was of the present and it was both less likely to be subject to error and could be checked more readily. The survey subjects of cohort I are aged from sixty to ninety-one. It is apparent that, for some, a snapshot of kinship in the depleted stage has to be taken at some point over a long period of years. I chose to record the figures for 1989 which can only suggest the pattern over time. Those subjects whose families have reached the depleted stage include twenty-one of cohort I and fourteen of cohort II. Of these, four of cohort I and a further nine of cohort II still have unmarried child/children within their households. There is one family of three siblings which has come together again and another family group of father, survey subject and survey subject's grown-up son. The employment ladder was completed before proceeding.

The technique which became part of the framework of this study, the semi-structured interview, followed the completion of the questionnaire. This was adopted because of the flexibility which it brought to the gathering of research material. A set of topics, decided in advance, were investigated whilst it was also possible, in each interview, to exploit the unfolding situation in an opportunistic way and so gain advantage from any unexpected chances to benefit from randomly occurring topics, which were not necessarily closely related to current conversation. This type of interview, allowing the inclusion of references to local events, topics and names, was much closer to the kind of verbal exchange that constitutes day-to-day conversation than a rigid format such as an additional questionnaire could possibly have

been. Work done during a pilot study indicated that this informal approach stimulated the interviewees and thus provided access to a larger fund of material.

Remembering that the precursory study had demonstrated that valuable material could be collected from what was ostensibly socialising, rather than interviewing formally and sensing a certain amount of tension associated with the use of a tape recorder, the interviews were started, occasionally after a leisurely conversation following the completion of the questionnaire and a verbal exchange on any topic that arose. The interviewees often suggested the investigation of topics which they assumed would be of interest and, in the same informal vein, I was able to introduce relevant topics in such a way as to stimulate them into recapitulating part of the information they had previously given. The value of this particular strategy was implied by the occasional request, during an interview, for the tape recorder to be turned off, despite the fact that the interviewee was very clear about the fact that he/she had no objection or reservations about the information, or opinion, involved being cited.

Pursuing the potential value of this, it was found to be relatively easy to introduce particular topics into informal conversations without any real difficulty and accumulate applicable material. Hence, every interviewee was virtually interviewed several times, once using a semi-structured interview technique and at least once using an unstructured form of interview as a follow-up. These additional interviews proved to be a rich source of research material. As Thompson (1978) points out "oral evidence" is rich and includes, "...social clues, the nuances of uncertainty, humour, or pretence, as well as the texture of the dialect"

(p.xx). Informal interviews, which were part of the adopted opportunistic approach were not confined to the study group and the chance to acquire any material of this kind which presented itself was readily accepted. In order to maximize this source of information, as well as provide bona fide opportunities for participant observation, I visited the village often and regularly, involving myself in as wide a circle of social activities and interactions as possible.

The form of semi-structured interview used was very similar for all interviewees. For example the topics raised varied only in detail appropriate to age, sex and subject's employment. Prepared notes, containing lists of topics and points of special interest were used as prompts. These lists were not decided upon until after the completion of a pilot study and, even then their composition was not regarded as finalized, the balance of the interview still owing much to the character and enthusiasm of reaction to a particular topic. For the main part, the list of topics was not shown to the interviewee or discussed with him/her, beforehand.

The interviews were recorded, providing ninety minutes of recording time without interruption. The machine was operated by a small remote foot switch, activated by a slight pressure of my heel, which could be released, without any apparent change of foot position. The microphone was small and hand-held and therefore, reasonably unobtrusive. In many cases the interviewee either ignored the recorder, or spoke as if he/she, was unaware of it. Immediately after an interview, notes taken during the conversation after the termination of the recorded interview, were expanded. They were logged in due course and later, together with the other material obtained in connection with the interview, collated

with that found by other means including a detailed diary.

2.Diary, observation and participant observation (see extracts).

King (Burgess, 1984) mentions that he not only included in his notes what had happened but included his preliminary interpretations, also. I began to keep a suitable diary in June, 1988 when I attended the funeral of one of the oldest residents and made contact with as many of the Armstrongs as possible, covering the possibility of needing these informants. Hammond writes that for those working in a familiar field things that are known may be overlooked, emergencies may occur and long-known facts may be rediscovered (p.2). However, Jackson & Marsden (1962) say of this:-

> The more the observer feels in sympathy with those under observation, the better will he be able to interpret psychologically the acts, ritual and personal,of his natives; the more conclusively will he be able to document the occurrence of typical sentiments in his community (p.4).

Goffman (1974) outlined the operation of participant observation, commenting on the method of its application and detailing some of its more obvious advantages, such as the fact that material can be continuously collected in an informal manner. This method of obtaining research material was used quite extensively in the data collection phase and some material, which was collected in a similar way for the precursory study (Thornton 1987), but not used, was utilised. Golde suggests a difficulty when he mentions that, for a woman, protection is needed both for the woman and the protection of others in coping with situations that could arise (p.6). I was fortunate in having the support and help of my husband, particularly after he had completed his dissertation. For the main part, I was identified as an insider who posed no threat and conformed to local norms to such an extent that I

was rung up and offered both prior knowledge of houses about to come on to the market and was told that I would be given preferential treatment should I apply for the tenancy of a Duke's house.

ANALYSIS

Yin's (1984) work is also a caveat with regard to the importance of care, in respect of the selection and interpretation of data, cautioning that any final report should be confined to critical pieces of evidence. He also advocates a continuing re-appraisal of conclusions and re-writing of reports. He commends the use of a computer, especially for this phase of research, a tool which proved to be very useful. The approach recommended by Yin seemed to provide advantages, in the matter of trying to maximize the very large and varied amount of material, which seemed potentially useful for this study.

Each survey subject had been given a three digit number, which indicated cohort, sex, occupation and details of Bellingham residence. This number proved invaluable during initial analysis.

1.2 FINAL ANALYSIS -Kinship Households

Mean number of households

BIOGRAPHICAL	HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	ALL SURVEY SUBJECTS		
	KIN/AFFINE HOUSEHOLDS Correct to 1 dec place	cI	cII	cIII
	Origin	7	6.3	4.8
	Procreation	12	7.4	5.5
	Denuded	15	9.1	-
	COMMENT	Historical: *	Biographical: *	

KEY * Historical sequence showing decrease of mean number of related households nearby from cohort I to cohort II and on to cohort III.

* Biographical sequence showing increase of mean number of related households in nearby from cohort I to II and on to III.

As well as constructing tables showing family size and composition during three stages of life, when I began my final analysis, I made tables showing kinship (1st degree, 2nd degree and other), affine relationships and total household relationships for each survey subject during the three stages (as far as they applied). Looking at the figures for each cohort in sequence gives a picture over historical time. However, it was possible to translate the findings into a two-dimensional form showing as well as the historical sequences, the biographical changing kinship patterns, allowing trends to show themselves (see fig. 1.2). In such a way, theory was being generated and a definite pattern of related households was beginning to establish itself wherein there was a marked decline in the number of related households within walking distance, over historical time. Conversely, there was a marked increase in the number of related households over biographical time.

THE DATA

As already indicated a considerable body of material, which was relevant to this research, was available before, in theory, it started. Much of this seemed to be of worth to the current study. For example, having worked both as a teacher at the village school and Sunday school teacher, I had earlier had access to records referring to community members and was able to discuss many matters relating to their potential with long serving and retired teachers. Several of the survey subjects of cohort II, had been former pupils. In addition to this, I was also in possession of comprehensive notes concerning conversations and interviews which had occurred earlier. In some cases this provided

correlation between a person's views and statements, which were separated by an interval of more than eight years.

The community membership' privileges, such as access to "the grapevine" which I was accorded and my prolonged social connection with members of the group provided a perpetual stream of rumour, opinions and facts from which it was possible to procure a rich source of interesting material. In some instances, I found that one of the consequences of my previously established credentials, of interviewer within the social group, caused me to be cast in the role of confidante. This also augmented the accumulated material and the quantity and variety of the material it provided further emphasized the fact that a qualitative approach had much to commend it.

HANDLING DATA

Although the data was collected using tape recordings and hand-written notes, valuable information was transferred into standard file format as soon as reasonably possible. The files were created on a micro computer and stored on floppy discs. This allowed a far greater measure of flexibility than would have been possible without the use of a computer. For instance, the attachment of key words earmarked entries and allowed them to be located and organized with great speed and facility after recording them in a non-sequential way. This was of considerable importance in the later half of the work when key words played a significant part in the classification of material into general clusters. The logical extension of this process, after re-assignments of data, and grouping and re-grouping of entries, was that key words eventually indicated chapter headings.

Review, sorting and re-assignment of entries was also relatively easy. For example, the micro computer allowed an entry to be included in several files and be assigned more than one key word and the attachment of symbols to act as indicators of such arrangements. Aids to handling and review such as this were accomplished relatively easily and very quickly. Nevertheless they were of great help both in the matter of time saving, data review and the presentation of papers. For instance, little time or trouble was needed to temporarily reorganize a group of files in a totally different way so that large sections of research material could be viewed from a different angle or that the overall effect of the accumulation of data might be considered from a particular standpoint. To enhance this particular aspect of the work, a database was used. This was especially useful after comprehensive records for individuals, groups and types of community activity had been instituted and were beginning to grow. For example, one or more facets of the lives of a group, could be produced in a matter of seconds or all the information concerning a particular topic could be extracted or reorganized in a very short space of time. Such facilities provided the opportunity of a thorough examination of the collected material and greatly aided the discovery of trends.

Despite the ready accessibility of the computer, being part of a home work-station, the availability of hard copy was a distinct advantage. I was able to carry copies of data files and text, after names and personal details had been encoded, to be worked on in a variety of situations, especially on camping holidays. Accomplishing this by other means would have involved risking original material or indulging in activities which were expensive in terms of time or money.

Using print-outs in this way also allowed more time to read and re-read the contents of files, without the distractions of television or family problems. Reading files methodically as part of a data review, as opposed to using a computer search facility, ensured awareness of the details of the research material. Occasionally this paid dividends, when the scanning of the text for a specific piece of information inadvertently focussed attention on the presence of possibilities that might otherwise have been missed. This was another part of the process of generating theory referred to earlier in this chapter.

RELEVANT METHODOLOGICAL FACTORS

The sheer volume of material accumulated for this study was a potential problem and it is difficult to imagine how it could have been successfully handled, without the aid of unlimited access to a micro computer. Factors which were assets with regard to the latent quality of the material, such as the wide time span over which it was collected, the variety of main methods of collection and the multiplicity of personal contacts which provided relevant information, also generated data and increased the work load in this respect.

Nevertheless, the dividends they imparted to the study made this worthwhile. The extended period, of twelve years, over which data was collected, obviously tended to augment the fund of material accumulated and provided opportunities for the "within method" triangulation which Burgess indicates adds substance to research through corroboration of data. Employing more than one principal means of collection was also a beneficial influence on the eventual quality of the research. For example, as Deutscher (1973) cautions, relying solely on an interview

technique is to place too much reliance on a method prone to subjectivity and bias, in view of the fact that its immediacy and anecdotal nature can encourage distortion of data. Such a danger was counteracted by endorsement from "between methods triangulation" commended by Burgess. Validation, as well as availability, of material was also at hand because of my status with regard to the community. The relationships which I developed during the course of my life offered the advantage of a familiarity with the kind of multiplicity of details, concerning the community which Cicourel (1964) refers to as the "ethnographic context" and claims to be a source of valuable information.

My community status and local knowledge were obviously of considerable help especially in respect of more sensitive areas of people's lives which were touched on by some of the topics raised during interviews, such as family relationships and claims for cash benefits. During situations, such as casual conversations, where confidentiality was implicit, but not stated as conditional, frank explanations and admissions were freely made to me. This indicated that, even in areas of activity with which I was presumed to be unfamiliar, my community status prompted the assumption that I was "wise", as Goffman (1964) uses the term when referring to those not immediately concerned in a situation who are, nonetheless, sympathetic and knowledgeable. This relatively unguarded attitude was obviously a potential benefit with regard to the accuracy of the data gathered.

Fruitful though my community membership and local contacts might be, they were not, from every point of view an undisputed benefit. It was necessary to be aware that such close personal contacts also contained

the seeds of potential flaws. As Lofland (1971) points out the quality of both interviewee and interviewer can have an effect on the standard of the data being gathered. In this connection, he emphasizes the fact that the researcher's perceptions can affect the interviewee.

However, many of the more usual difficulties encountered by researchers using qualitative methods presented little or no problems. For example, achieving access to suitable subjects or gaining their acceptance, a matter to which Bogdan and Taylor (1975) attach considerable importance, presented little difficulty. Clearly this was not the case with all problems inherent in the research process. Any one interview is unique and vulnerable, in varying measure, to extrinsic and intrinsic influences, such as the disposition of the interviewee with respect to the interviewer, the conditions in which it is conducted, the problem of mutual understanding and events, unknown to the interviewer, which may have preceded the interview.

Success also depended on being aware that the building of a fair, accurate picture from any one person's comments must allow for the fact, that not all honest attempts at objective accounts are successful. Errors and the distortion of memory might result in misrepresentation of opinions or events, the kind of inaccuracy, which Douglas (1976) refers to as "convoluted forms of truth" and "data distortion". It was also necessary to remember that, as Lofland (1971) warns, when using an interviewing technique the depth of the study is obtained at the expense of its breadth. It was, therefore, important to be circumspect and exercise much caution and forethought during the data collection stage, to obtain the level of competent observation, which Johnson (1978) commends.

CONCLUSION

The intention, from the beginning of this research, was to study work and its connection with family and kinship within the border village of Bellingham, this century. At the outset, few problems were apparent. However, when the study progressed to the analytical stage, it became increasingly clear that many of the shared standards and much of the operation of the rural social system under scrutiny indicated characteristics that were typical of a community. Since my research seemed to be leading inexorably to this conclusion, I was faced with the additional problem of substantiating the view that a community, in the sense of a valid social entity, exists. At this juncture, perhaps the hardest task of all was suggested by my supervisor. In accord with this, I suspended my analysis and turned my attention to "community", a controversial and potentially volatile subject. A discussion of this is incorporated into this dissertation (see chapter 2). At a time when many leading authorities in the field had been remarking on the decline of community, some even questioning the validity of the term as a sociological concept, my findings, had apparently pinpointed an instance where a rural community continues to thrive. Whilst there is no doubt that Bellingham has changed over this century, it is still a viable community and the concept that the nature of social life there is, in some ways, unique seems a valid point of view. Therefore, the assumption that Bellingham is an evolving community, has been incorporated into this dissertation and is a pivotal point of arguments being advanced here.

CHAPTER TWO

CLUES TO LIFE AND WORK OF THE PAST IN PLACE NAMES WHICH ARE IN CURRENT USE

THE DEMESNE FARM, CASTLE HILL.

THE MILL, MILLER'S POOL, THE MILL BANK, THE BOAT FARM.

THE FOUNDRY YARD, WAGGON WAY, THE LOW DAM, KILN TOPS,
THE BLUE HEAPS, THE KNAPPERS YARD, CINDER BANK, THE GASWORKS.

CANDLE HOUSE, TOMMY HEDLEY'S CORNER, HINDMARCH'S CORNER,
THE BLACKSMITH'S BRIDGE, THE FORGE, DOBBIN'S CORNER.

BRIDGEFORD, SUMMER FORD, RAILWAY CROSSING, TOLL COTTAGE,
THE STATION YARD, CUDDY'S LOWP.

FOUNTAIN TERRACE, THE LOOK OUT POST.

THE RIDING STONES, THE PINFOLD, THE DEN, PAN TILE ROW,
THE SHAW SCHOOL, THE OLD MANSE, THE PRESBYTERIAN MANSE,
THE WORKHOUSE, THE DUKE'S HUT, SNOGGY GATE, MISSION BANK.

COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

This research is concerned with work in its broadest sense and is centred primarily on the activities of residents of a border village, Bellingham. It is in a valley on the "Pennine Way" near the foothills of the Cheviots. Lying thirty-five miles from the nearest city, Newcastle, Bellingham is no longer served by a railway. Transport to and from the village relies mainly upon a 'B' road, which, following the North Tyne southwards, leads to Hexham, seventeen miles distant. Two roads lead northwards. One follows the river valley to Kielder Water and beyond and the other leads to Otterburn, Redesdale Camp and the small Scottish border towns. Two other routes lead eastwards and south-eastwards using a network of narrow metalled and unmetalled, fenced and unfenced roads over high fell land and peat bogs, with their sheep and cattle grids, and eventually to Morpeth in the east. Two wider, better roads run five miles west and two miles to the north. Both were improved after the end of World War II. The latest, completed during the seventies, was designed to improve transport services for the construction of the Kielder dam. It offers an overtaking lane throughout much of its length. However, both these roads by-pass Bellingham.

The relatively fertile land on which it lies abuts vast tracts of poor quality agricultural land which is sparsely populated. Whilst the national density of people per square mile is 601, Northumberland is the least densely populated county in England and there are only 33.7 people per square mile in the rural district. The village is closely connected to the nearby small population centres, and, is a vital part

of the job opportunities, service industries and other overlapping social networks of the remote valley farms, hamlets, and smaller villages. This echoes Laslett's findings (1965) that in rural England in the past the, "The very large number of small settlements in which so much of the population lived were in fact all connected by the local rural centres" (p.57). Today, Bellingham is the centre for the area. However, this does not only apply to its geographical position to which I have so far alluded, it also applies to the much more important local social system.

For example the dispensing of justice, both official and informal, tends to vary from showing understanding to being extremely harsh. The Hexham Courant of 1979 reported that the Chairman of the Magistrates at Bellingham (the squire) fined a local man a nominal sum and said that if a note had been left saying some coal had been borrowed (from a country cottage), it might have helped. It was a case of theft but not a serious one. Unreported, but already part of local oral history, was the police swoop in and around Hexham market. It is said that their findings were phenomenal that so many private cars were said to be running on "red diesel", fuel which had been made available for use only on the land. Whilst it is true that many farmers and landed gentry were and, still are, closely enmeshed in the local judicial system, it would be ignoring prejudice to accept local gossip and assume that this was the reason that no follow-up action was taken.

However, it is a matter of documented fact that Alan (cohort II), as a teenager, "pinched" apples from Dobbin's garden. This was, and is, not an unusual practice among children but the result was. Alan found himself in court. Dobbin's action was not in accord with local

standards. Until then he had been a councillor but he was destined never to be returned to office. Dennis (1968) makes the point that, "Social control, to be successful, requires the consequences of a deviant act to ramify in various ways which are unpleasant for the actor" (p.86). Thus, it is seen that law and order and local social controls do not necessarily correspond. Again, Mrs Telfer, a Roman Catholic, "...had her husband, a methodist, buried a Roman Catholic." Versions of the incident vary according to social group allegiance but agreement is reached on the outcome. Two survey subjects explained, "Noo up t' then she wes top o' the poll. Mind iverybody liked Stanley. He niva did neebody iny harm. She wis bottom efta that."

THE CATEGORY OF THE SOCIAL GROUP IN QUESTION

Some of the apparent distinguishing features could be easier to validate, if the local social system could be categorized and compared to others of its type, bearing in mind Stacey's (1969) advice that "...the most valuable researches in the field of sociology are those which can be used comparatively" (p.17). Could Bellingham be a community? From the outset of study, the emerging attributes and peculiarities of the local social system seemed to indicate that Bellingham could be regarded as one. However, Gans (1968) and Pahl (1968) refute the claim that there is correlation between ways of life and settlement patterns. Pahl goes on to suggest that a village may be best understood as a "state of mind". I am in agreement with them that Bellingham as a community has no simple geographical boundary nor does it imply geographical determinism. Yet, Hillery (1955) makes the point that no writer rejected that area could be a part of a community whilst

CHAPTER 2 - COMMUNITY

Sjoberg (1965) writes of, "...a collectivity of actors sharing in a limited territorial area as the base for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities" (p.115). Stein's (1960) deliberations add support to this, for he describes a community as, "...an organised system standing in a determinate relation to its environment which has a local basis but not necessarily a rigid boundary" and he is aware that large parts of the social system lie outside the community (p.100/101). Both Stein's and Sjoberg's definitions are closely allied to the aforementioned description of Bellingham and to my research findings, for in many respects social groups extend in different directions at various times, incorporating where appropriate the scattered farm, hamlet and village populations of the Tyne and Rede valleys, and occasionally beyond, into its system. Some group associations within the village, for instance, are the direct result of employment centred inside and outside Bellingham, and both of the past and the present.

Many of the social groups in the area are focussed on leisure pursuits. Names often illustrate their tightness or breadth. Darts' teams are centred on pubs, cricket and football teams on villages whilst there exists a North Tyne Hunt and a North Tyne & Redesdale Choral Society. Yet, even within these groups, members are "poached" to enhance a successful team or group. Villagers are forced to choose between past and present allegiance or the promise of ephemeral glory. In a similar way, a very small minority of villagers are drawn into the market town, city and national networks. For instance Neil (cohort III), a member by upbringing, plays for the market town's cricket team, Bill (cohort II), a village member by birth, retains his membership of Hexham R.A.F. Association whilst Angela (cohort I), a married-in member with temporary

membership, describes how committed she is, and has been, to the various networks both in and beyond Bellingham, including serving on an international sub-committee of the Women's Institute. This gives the flavour of Bellingham as a complex system of overlapping social groups, some of which centre on institutions or employment, others on specific geographical areas and many on kinship, affine, neighbour and long-term friendship ties. Villagers have concomitant memories which arise from common or concurrent experiences. A multiplicity of connections, intricate in nature, both direct and indirect, hold the social groups in the complicated framework of which the social entity is composed.

DOES COMMUNITY EXIST?

A body of opinion, of considerable import in the field of sociology, questions the extent to which the concept of community can be regarded as a topic worthy of serious research. Stacey (1969), a proponent of this view explains that the difference in views is about a much more serious matter than terminology, stating that it is "...about the concept the term is supposed to describe" (p.15). Hillery, whilst not in complete accord with this viewpoint, offers support in that he suggests avoiding the term altogether, commenting that, "The significant question concerns the nature of social groups, not whether a ninety-fifth definition of community is possible" (1969, p.4). Others suggest that community did exist but that it has declined, traditional mores having been eroded by the influences of modern living. For instance Shorter (1976) says that he is convinced that the onrush of romantic love, family domesticity and maternal tenderness have brought about a new way of life and that community life is of the past. Warren (1963) also cites

a change in America from the community being the most important, to the extra-community systems becoming more important than the community itself. Thus, he goes on to say, people's lives are shaped not by local structures but by national ones.

However, the act of refuting the validity of the concept, community, implicitly provides a series of yardsticks which may be used to provide indications of its existence. For example Richardson's (1990) conclusion that, "Concepts of village life are frequently steeped in mythology; images of the rustic existence are usually coloured by wistful nostalgia" (p.13) clearly implies that "rose-tinted spectacles" are necessary in order to see a rural village during the first half of the century as a cogent complete social system. My findings, as outlined in the following chapters, represent a substantial part of village life as taking place in overcrowded, insanitary conditions, remote from adequate health care and educational opportunities, under an umbrella of poverty and the threat of malnutrition. The clear memories of the problems which attended such a situation tend to suppress any nostalgia, the converse of Richardson's conclusions, implying that a degree of objectivity might be accorded to my observations of village life.

Similarly when Stacey makes the point that in "earlier uses of the term" one group used it "in some feeling sense" (p.14), the fact that I feel myself to be, and am identified as a member of the said community of Bellingham, by birth, upbringing and two centuries of local unilineal descent is enhanced. Such feeling and sense of belonging is then seen to be important.

There is also validation of the concept of community as a social unit throughout the broad spectrum of sociology, as in the works of

Tonnies, Weber and Durkheim. To some more modern eyes, such as Nisbet (1967,p.74), their findings seem to be tinged with nostalgia when they look backwards, but surely this does not completely annul such an important sector of their work.

Despite very persuasive arguments to the contrary, my inclination is to view the social entity as a community, claiming good grounds for supposing that it may still be used as a valid concept, today. Since the term does not have complete general acceptance or a widely accepted precise definition, it is necessary, in the cause of efficient communication, for me to provide clarification of the the manner in which I intend to use the term. In this context, I suggest the following as a definition of community:-

A community is an evolved aggregation of institutions and naturally occurring social groups. It has a certain territorial affinity and characteristics which are attributable to local history and evolved standards and values associated with this but its most obvious traits are the persisting sense of belonging generated in its members and the peculiar dynamic social system it supports. The homeostasis of this system is subject to constant change and adjustment, in response to overlapping, multidirectional chain reactions arising from both extrinsic influences and internal development.

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

It was initially necessary to examine the survey village with a view to specifically establishing the existence of a cogent social system that was worthy of study. For this purpose I paid particular attention to Stacey (1969,p.14) who argues that if institutions are locality based

and interrelated there may well be a local social system worth studying. However, she warns that it is rare to find all institutions present in a specific locality and counsels that the:-

> ...more present in a locality, the more likely is a local social system to develop because the chances of multiplex role playing are increased (since the number of statuses and therefore the number of roles is increased) (p.21).

On this basis, Bellingham stood up to her criteria for research consideration and warranted a more detailed examination. The social system, as found in Bellingham is fluid, and whilst having no geographical boundaries, the focus of village life has oscillated within one specific geographical site for centuries. In addition, such a community, as an integral part of national society, benefits and occasionally loses from wider change. The social system is not merely a collection of inter-connected local social groups. It is a distinct social entity which is an aggregate of these overlapping groups and reflects some of the qualities which are common to them. The origin of the composite system can only be surmised but the village was established before the Norman Conquest and has been ongoing since that time. My study shows that, over this century, there has been in operation a dynamic social system changing in a kaleidoscopic fashion, sometimes rapidly, at other times slowly but never static. Unquestionable membership of the social system is by birth or upbringing. Temporary or honorary membership is accorded to others, particularly to residents.

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BELLINGHAM AS A COMMUNITY

Time & Kinship

Stacey defines the necessary conditions for the initial development of a local system as:-

"(a) The minimum condition is that the majority of the local population should have been present together in the locality for some period of time.

(b) The longer is this period the more likely is there to be a local social system present.

(c) Where the majority of the population have been born and bred in the locality it is highly likely that there will be some sort of local social system present (p.20).

Bellingham, with its established social system, fits in with the criteria suggested by Stacey. However, Bellingham's local social system is well established and therefore it has an extra dimension which can be examined in more detail. It is firmly based in the history and traditions of the village and the locality. The memorial in the village square commemorates those members who served in the Boer War, the lych gate at the communal cemetery displays the names of those who served, as well as those who fell, in the First War and the font cover in St Cuthbert's Church is in memory of those of Bellingham Rural District who served in the Second World War and whose lives were lost.

The chronology of many of the social groups, which are integral parts of the system, are more firmly rooted in the past than many present day important institutions. In some of the earliest recorded history of the area, the Dodds, Fenwicks, Charltons and Milburns, renowned among the Eastern Borderers as Border Reivers, were the families of the valleys and were the greatest problem of the Warden of the Marches. These names still persist today, together with Armstrong,

Elliot and Graham, family names native to the land westwards. Eighteen of the survey subjects as children, a quarter of them, had one of the aforementioned surnames and a further fourteen had first or second degree kin who bore one of these names. However, as families who stay for more than a generation, tend to marry into the community, new surnames continue to appear and individual names tend to mask the wider kinship groups.

Certainly, the current Bellingham residents have been there, living alongside each other, for a long time. Sixteen of the twenty four "over sixty" survey subjects were born, two others bred in Bellingham, Joe belonged to the Bellingham Roman Catholic Church and Marget became a young "sarv'nt lass" there. Thirteen of them had grand-parents living in Bellingham at the turn of the century and, of these thirteen, twelve have grown-up children or nieces/nephews living there today. Nine have grand-children or great nieces/nephews whilst five have relatives in the next generation, suggesting that community time is not only of the past and the present but is seen to extend into the future. However, this gives emphasis to the importance, not only of children, but of primary socialization. It also indicates why the role of wife/mother remains dominant for women and goes some way to explaining why the monitoring of courtships and, the receiving, holding and occasional dissemination of pertinent community knowledge, particularly actual rather than accepted parentage, is a major role of the elderly.

The importance of longevity is apparent when reference is made to the roles of the older members within each group. For most people, old age carries the promise of status as well as the threat of infirmity. The relatively higher status usually accorded to older people may be

evidence of a philosophy but it is also based on practical considerations. The old represent the richest repository of oral history, folk lore and country lore. Those who are retired are also available for necessary inputs to communal life, which are beyond people in full employment, such as care of the young and more infirm.

Longevity of residence is best illustrated by reference to survey subject, Jean, the eighty-five year old retired teacher, and Isa, the eldest of the Armstrong kinship group, now eighty-nine, who have lived out their lives in Bellingham. In addition, eighty year old Peggy has never left since she arrived there as an orphan, ninety-one year old Marget since her marriage and Cliff since he arrived as bank manager, during the procreation stage of his life. Of those who have chosen to return, Joe left in 1954 and returned on retirement in 1981, whilst Johny, after being resident elsewhere for thirty years, retired back in 1988.

Such is not an entirely unexpected occurrence in view of the fact that other villagers, both in the past and the present returned after longer periods or quite different circumstances. At the cessation of the First World War, some soldiers who had been emigrants, including "Owld Dagg", did not go back to the colonies with their regiments but took the opportunity to return to the North Tyne. Several expatriates came home for the duration of the Second World War, others when the Germans attacked with flying bombs (V Is) and some stayed on. Returns are made on the death of a spouse, to find employment, adequate housing, preferred socialization of children and at least three families of siblings living in Bellingham, have re-formed in old age. Their sense of belonging seems beyond question.

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Belonging

It is this belonging to a community with its encompassing bondage which also seems important. Absent members of other communities identify a problem of home sickness. The villagers of Galicia describe "melanco" as the grief of exile and the longing to return whilst the Welsh, in a similar fashion, speak of "Hiraeth". Shorter (1976) refers to folklore and quotes that:-

> ...still others who had in their youth left for Lyon or Paris would return in their declining years to the perched villages of the Var, to spend the end of their days sitting in the stoop in the sun (p.47).

These experiences are very similar to those of some of the survey subjects, of Selwyn, Bobby, Teddy and Joan (cohort I), Willie, Bill, Joan, Hazel and Kathleen (cohort II) and Tony, Catherine and Anne-Marie (cohort III) who each returned with their families during the procreation stage of life. Similarly, Goodwin, Johny, Joe and Biddy of cohort I and Theresa of cohort II have returned to spend their declining years in Bellingham. When survey subjects were questioned about their reasons for returning, it was clear that they felt their group affiliation, in the area, were a source of solace, reassurance and support. However, it was also plain, from some of the recurring expressions such as, "T' wasn't same as here", "It was the way th' gan on really" and "Th' were funny aboot some things", that suggested that they felt deprived when living without the social structure and mores that were part of their Bellingham background. As Stacey points out, "...a local social system will have a system of beliefs associated with it" (p.22).

The difference was readily apparent to them in the character of many social institutions. For example, they were used to the idea of

many of the same villagers attending functions such as Midnight Mass at the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist carol singing, the Remembrance Service at the Church of England and some Roman Catholics recalled going on two summer trips with both other church groups. They were shocked at the insular attitudes they met in other parts of the country and the social barriers they had encountered. Their consciousness of the boundaries of social mores was in evidence during conversations on a wide variety of topics, as when they referred to, "The way th' dee it at Wark (a neighbouring village)". For example, Joe commented, "Th' (Wark residents) even hev different rules for doubles (four handed domino games)." This kind of comment seemed to echo Stein's observation (1960) that, "...for some people, community has a relation to a relatively small local area" (p.101).

Other aspects of life within Bellingham, however, emphasized the importance of properties of the social entity such as kin connections and local enclave allegiance. Emmett (1964), describing Llan in rural Wales, mentions the "fairly stable population needed for the formation of the crisscrossing ties of kinship, the raw materials of community life" (p.125). By birth or upbringing two-thirds of the survey subjects are members of the community and a further sixth who have married into the community were born within the district. Nine, an eighth of the subjects, have lived out their lives within their families of origin/depleted families of origin in Bellingham whilst a further four who left on one occasion are back within these groups. All the survey subjects but two, members by birth and upbringing, spent part or all of the family of procreation stage within the community. One of the two lived on a nearby smallholding and the second in a nearby market town.

Thus, a multiplicity of connections, intricate in nature, both direct and indirect, hold the social groups in the complicated framework of which the social system is composed.

People, brought up in the village, who have spent most of their lives in other parts of the country, or other parts of the world, are still referred to as "belangin' Bellingham" and if they spend a holiday in the village they are reported as having been "back home". This is partially explained by Stein's assertion (1960,p.15) that, "Those who stress the 'sense of belonging' may not even be concerned with a territorially defined group". The sense of belonging clearly transcends prolonged geographical absence from the community. Bellingham speaks proudly of Joe, "a Canadian Mountie", Jimmy's rapid promotion in "The Marines" and Clive's success as an adviser on sheep, "somewhere in Australia or New Zealand".

Stacey, speaking of earlier usages of the term, draws attention to the fact that in the "ideal typical community" a "sense of belonging" is associated with the "social relations within the particular geographic area" (p.14). If this point of view is used as a principal yardstick, in an assessment of Bellingham, there appear to be reasonable grounds for supposing that the subjects of this study are members of a social group which would be correctly categorized as a community. However, this is not a complete picture as far as the Bellingham social group is concerned. It is felt that Bellingham remains an integral part of their social identity. In the same way that many expatriate English people are strongly aware of their national identity, the absent villagers continue to regard themselves as "Bellingham folk", wherever they live. For example, the members of the study group who had spent

long periods of time away from the sphere of influence of their families of origin had rarely regarded their new location as a permanent one. Most, who had been absent for several years, admitted that other places where they had resided were, in the words of one of them, "Nice enough, canny really but not the same as home." Clearly the concept of returning home was for her linked neither with her family of origin nor the house she left. She returned after the death of her parents and the house she had left was, by then occupied by another tenant. All who had been away spoke, with obvious pleasure, about "getting back" and having a personal identity. This applied in particular to women returning, who had not enjoyed being, "the policeman's wife", the "teacher's wife" or "the shepherd's wife".

Community Identity

A pivotal factor in a villager's identity is indicated by the fact that he/she is referred to, by fellow villagers, in terms of who he/she is rather than what he/she is, in terms of other personal details, such as occupation or professional qualifications. Personal identity is primarily defined by reference to social groups which are an integral part of the community. Other personal characteristics or achievements, even though they may be regarded by the world outside as important and a source of pride by the villager, are clearly thought to be additional information of secondary importance. One person, for example was introduced to a visiting outsider as "Burnie's son-in-law". This was clearly regarded as a definitive explanation of identity, even though Burnie had been dead for over nine years and had never been met by the outsider. Each villager by birth or upbringing, past and present, has a social identity and is referred to by this. It could be a diminutive

Christian name as in the case of Rosa, both Christian and surname as in Peggy Scot, a pseudonym- as for Shafty, Pin and Spottie, a combination with regard to the next generation as in Billy Shafty or a Christian/surname and place of residence as "Kathy, o' the Demesne" suggests. Honorary or temporary members tend to be referred to, at first, by their employment- "the bank manager", "sarv'nt at the Reenes" or in Joan's case, "the publican's dowter". However as newcomers become integrated, the emphasis on employment becomes less overt, "the bank manager" has become, "Cliff Bramwell" and "the sarvn't at the Reenes", Marget.

Institutions

In Bellingham there is a coalescence of institutions- work, residence, religion, education, politics, retail services and recreation. Its amenities are closely linked to employment opportunities. There are two hotels, one of which has an indoor swimming pool/sauna facilities and the other holds regular discos until two o' clock, three public houses, a fish & chip shop, a snack bar, and recently opened tea rooms but the two restaurants opened by entrepreneurs when the dam was being built, have since closed. The golf club, which has a nine hole golf course, runs its own club house and bar. Adjacent to the Youth Hostel and close to a nature trail, there is a large caravan site, another on the Demesne farm and one on the outskirts of the village which offers emplacements for touring caravans and campers. Several homes operate as official and unofficial guest houses. Often, householders are asked to take the overflow and make a bedroom available during peak periods. Pony trekking is also on offer at the outdoor centre which replaced the residential school.

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Institutions

In Bellingham there is a coalescence of institutions- work, residence, religion, education, politics, retail services and recreation. Its amenities are closely linked to employment opportunities. There are two hotels, one of which has an indoor swimming pool/sauna facilities and the other holds regular discos until two o' clock, three public houses, a fish & chip shop, a snack bar, and recently opened tea rooms but the two restaurants opened by entrepreneurs when the dam was being built, have since closed. The golf club, which has a nine hole golf course, runs its own club house and bar. Adjacent to the Youth Hostel and close to a nature trail, there is a large caravan site, another on the Demesne farm and one on the outskirts of the village which offers emplacements for touring caravans and campers. Several homes operate as official and unofficial guest houses. Often, householders are asked to take the overflow and make a bedroom available during peak periods. Pony trekking is also on offer at the outdoor centre which replaced the residential school.

Some shopping is done in Hexham, Morpeth, Newcastle, Carlisle, Jedburgh, Hawick and, on occasions in Edinburgh, or in the villages at the corner shop. However, Bellingham streets, car parks and market place tend to be well used, particularly on fridays, saturday mornings and on market days, suggesting that the three banks and the shops attract many customers from the environs. There are two self-service grocery stores, a general dealer's, a post office, a newsagent's, a butcher's shop with its own slaughter premises, a butcher's and greengrocer's store, a bakery with its own shop, a chemist's, a drapery and fancy goods store, a fancy goods and gardening shop, a bookmaker's, hairdresser's, an antique shop, a craft shop and an electrical/plumbing business with its own shop. There are mobile shops, which sound very grand. These are small vans which tour the town twice weekly and visit the more isolated farms every month selling groceries, bread, cakes, flowers and fruit. The fish van and the greengrocer's snake their way around the streets on fridays whilst the butcher makes weekly, and twice weekly tours of the area, as well as delivering within Bellingham.

Today, there are two schools, primary and middle, sharing one building. Older children, at thirteen, move on to Ponteland, Haydon Bridge or Hexham, according to the geographical location of their homes or religious allegiance. The beginning of this system of education stretches back to the early fifties when the two all-age schools were closed. The small private day school together with the Roman Catholic school had closed in the late forties. Part III of the 1944 Education Act, not brought into force until 1957, said that all independent schools were to be given provisional registration, but only if a visiting H.M.I. was satisfied, was registration to be made substantive.

The Association of District Councils (1978) makes the point that schools may be very important in offering employment in rural areas and the residential one, opened in 1939, closed in 1978.

There are three churches, several halls- including a town hall, a library, a tourist information centre, parish council offices, a Masonic lodge, the Forestry Commission's repair yard and offices, a builders' yard, a maintenance depot for Northumberland County Council's Highways Department, a mart field with two auctioning rings, fire station, health centre and an ambulance station, a small factory employing four people, three garages- two with petrol pumps, a tyre exchange business, two haulage contractors' yards, a calor gas dump, and a police station. Part-time work as special constables, firemen and members of the Observer Corps is sought after, too.

Already suggested are the number of meeting places in Bellingham but there are many more out of doors. Men tend to meet around the workshops, in the gardens and allotments, at the strategically placed village street seats and at Tommy Hedley's corner end. Women used to meet at the tap or well, at the seats with their work or out at the fence in the front or back lane but, today, they seem to meet in the shops, the cafe, the snack bar and, when necessary, at the school gate. The very nature of the society ensures that persons may meet by accident as well as by design. Every-one's movements are part of local knowledge.

Overlap of employment, residence and leisure activities

The interconnection and overlap of village social groups means that, in effect, virtually every established resident is connected, either directly or indirectly, to every other. Most live, work and spend their leisure time in the village. Perhaps this goes some way to

explaining why membership of the social entity is synonymous with positive bias. This includes obvious preferment in the field of employment, which is evident in the face of any potential competition from outside the village. This preferment is readily apparent not only from the allocation of jobs within the village but also from some of the comments of the survey group who clearly felt it necessary to excuse any apparent departure from the accepted practice. Mick, on being asked about the newly appointed "lad", explained that, "His father's one o' the Percy Street lot (a Bellingham row of cottages now demolished)" and "Geordie knew'm, and teld us he had a good pair o' hands."

The fact, that this attitude is a true reflection of the norm, is demonstrated by local reaction to what are apparently considered "outside appointments" in the context of the social group centred on Bellingham. For example, one of cohort I, commented on what was, in his eyes, an obvious injustice or aberration as soon as the question of employment was raised. Without prompting, he drew attention to the recent appointment of an assistant caretaker at the village school, saying "That's both 'o them there (caretaker and his assistant) both from the toon". His verdict, on the appointment of these men who were natives of an area not twenty-five miles distant from Bellingham, was "Th's summat wrang alang there y' kna when th' bring two o' them in. It makes y' wonda what they've got t' hide". In accordance with village standards, he plainly saw positive bias in favour of villagers not as discrimination, but as the only truly appropriate attitude. The deviation from these standards, which he, and others, perceived from the appointments was, in their eyes, manifestly unfair and a symptom of something amiss in the school.

Obviously, not all appointments can be made from the village population. It is an accepted fact of village life that such a thing would not be practicable. Posts such as that of bank manager, general medical practitioner, priest, methodist minister, policemen and head teacher are almost invariably filled by incomers. However, much controversy still rages about the Forestry Commission's practice of employing district officers, direct from university, and putting them in charge "in the field". Residence and employment are synonymous for the majority of professional workers who are employees of national and international organisations, and for the main part, join the community during the procreation stage of life. They immediately belong to integrated overlapping social groups of work and residence. Their roles are integral parts of the community social entity, and, as such they are accorded special status. Their acceptance into Bellingham is accelerated in a similar fashion to that of residence following marriage to a villager. This is particularly so, if it is seen that they have something, in addition, to offer such as being "an above average" cricket player as were both Biddy's and Hazel's husbands or willing to take an active role in the "Women's Institute" as were Mary and Angela.

As well as having its own children's playground and golf course, there is a developing sports' complex based on the schools' playing fields, and, the cricket, tennis and football clubs have been attracted to make use of its facilities. Meetings tend to take place in the pubs and a money raising activity, "a quiz" was held in the "Rose & Crown" whilst I was completing my interviews. The Badminton Club, Young Farmers' and Youth' Clubs chose to meet in the school, soon after it was opened. The Carpet Bowls Club, meets in the Town Hall, in which other

functions such as receptions, dances, discos, bingo and some meetings take place. The Town Hall, Beagles, the North Tyne Hunt, Agricultural Show, political parties' committees, the Dramatic Society, Special Constables and Women's Institute thus have a choice of venue. Closely connected with the latter is the Women's swimming group and the "Old Folks Dinner Providers" who make meals for the elderly when the school is closed. The Choral Society, Children's Play Group, old folks' activities, Weight Watchers and church clubs tend to meet in the church halls. The "foresters" meet in "The Cheviot", the British Legion Women's Section in "The Rose & Crown" and the Leek and Fishing clubs at the pubs in succession. The firemen have their own club house which has become another village meeting place and the fire engines were recently parked outside so that Diane could have her wedding reception there.

Roles

Thus with combinations of employment, residence, leisure activities, family, kinship, long-term friendship and neighbour connections, for the most part, all within Bellingham, residents, "play many roles to each other" (Stacey p.23). Unlike other rural communities mentioned in the literature, (e.g. Richardson's "Swanbrooke Down", Strathern & Robin's "Elmdon") Bellingham has, in addition, its local squire. Major Charlton resides in "Hesleyside Hall" nearly two miles "up the Tyne". He inherited his position from his father-in-law over forty years ago. He has been magistrate, employer, landlord, member of the Roman Catholic church, councillor, president or vice president of societies and often "a leading voice of the North Tyne". There are other gentry and men of distinction living within the immediate environs and, consequently, there is no shortage of active and inactive figure-heads.

The survey subjects play many roles, too. For instance, Graham, whilst being a minor member of a large kinship group, is an elder of the chapel, an employer, a mason, a part-time fireman, chairman of the Parish Council, a manager of the primary school and on the committees of several clubs and organisations. Joe, whose affines live in the village, returned in 1981, and is sub-postmaster, secretary of the Conservatives, a committee member of the Leek Club, a member of the Fishing Club and a non-playing member of the Golf Club, but freely admitted that his status among the extended family group is that of a minor role. Isa, Marget and Jean have played and, to a limited extent, still play many roles within Bellingham but their responses suggest that their roles have changed with the maturity of their families and the onset of old age. Similarly other residents play several roles. Many roles are especially valued for the status they carry. This was illustrated by the reactions of two survey subjects, to proffered official positions on the village leek club committee. Because of a well known deep family rift, which had occurred ten years earlier, neither they nor their wives nor children would acknowledge members of the other's family, or participate in any kind of verbal communication with them. This state of affairs was suspended between the two men, throughout the duration of committee meetings only, in order that they might discharge the duties connected with the offices the club conferred upon them. The obvious deep embarrassment that questions on the subject generated, testified to the high value they placed upon the concomitant status. In addition, one eventually upstaged the other by being given the coveted job of measuring the leeks on "Show Day".

Associated beliefs, cultural systems and local concern

Stacey writes that "..a lack of concern about relationships or an absence of relationships indicates a weak local social system or that no such social system is present" (p.24). Some of the incidents reported suggest a strong local social system and not only concern about individuals but about local, national and international events. Action may take place spontaneously as small groups meet and news is disseminated, when a leisure group meets formally or informally, when groups seen to have common interests are invited to a meeting to discuss action or on occasions when, for the most part, the whole local social system takes part.

Alan (cohort II) told how his uncle had been about to be made homeless in the fifties. Albert, the grave-digger, had managed to find a small unoccupied condemned cottage that would suit his needs. The neighbourhood group were discussing the matter at the tap. Alan takes up the story:-

Noo, Esther just put her coat ower her pinny an' off she went t' see Albert Smith at the Cooncil Offices. Whey she towld him we cudn't dee withoot a grave digga an' that was that.

Again, in the seventies, George, "the displaced person at the camp" whose contact with Bellingham was through the Whist Club "had no-where to go" when he reached retirement age. The women in the small organisation informally elected representatives "to go to see the council". George happily lived on in the village, his only hobby being simple crocheting. A call went out to and from the school for wool and, continuously, he was provided with more than he needed.

The three church congregations all work together to raise money, for projects abroad. One of cohort II, a Roman Catholic, explained that

she had made the soup in the Reed Hall that year. She said:-

A made a lot o' money. Mind it wasn't just a case o' makin' the soup. A went aroond iverywhere tellin' people they hed t' come. Whey, fo' fifty P. they got a big bowl ' soup an' bread. Doris came, an' Mary ...Iverybody.

Poaching has always, to some extent, been accepted. One cohort I member told how the salmon were left in the blacksmith's. "Bye, what a lot o' salmon they had. Word came alang that the polis was on his way. They cowped them ower the dyke bank o' the Demesne field an' when they came they found nowt!" Will of cohort II told how word came along from the school from the teacher (cohort I) that "the bairn" had been saying that his father was following the salmon in the burn. Again, whilst one of cohort III, a married-in newcomer, was being kept occupied as he threatened to report any poacher, his father-in-law and friends were successfully poaching upstream.

The social network seems always in operation. However, occasionally it is unequal to externally imposed problems. For instance, drinking after hours is part of the way of life and when a lock-in entrapped some members and, both the barmaids and drinkers were heavily fined at the Hexham Sessions, the collecting boxes were on the shop counters to help them to pay. As one of cohort II reported, "A was lucky not t' be there. It could h' been any of us. Peter was doon with his bairns from Aberdeen". A system of escape routes from all pubs had evolved over the years. However, this time, it was generally accepted that plain clothes policemen, in the guise of fishermen on holiday and staying within the pub, had infiltrated the group.

The Leek Club relies on being able to sell its raffle tickets regularly in the village and in the pubs to raise prize money, a draw

taking place weekly. Those who go to the Town Hall to view the exhibition and, in particular, to see who has won, pay a nominal sum at the door. Afterwards, most of the produce is moved to the stage and auctioned to villagers in aid of some charity. In addition, the club, when necessary, gives a donation to a worthy cause. Much hilarity ensued when one member recently suggested, jokingly, that the money should go to providing a urinal for a local public house. Whilst for long periods, all members are men, Miss Robson was a full member during the thirties and forties and Esther during the seventies and early eighties.

Other events tend to be run by local committees. The railwaymen had always run a children's party for Bellingham children, those of the railwaymen paying nothing and the rest paying a nominal sum. Isa (cohort I) organised them, until the railway closed in 1956. After that the children missed them, so a few mothers got together and invited anyone interested to a meeting and the parties began, again. Gillian (cohort II), brought up in a nearby village, explained that she was, now, on the committee. Again, the residential school had a huge bonfire and firework display, yearly, to which Bellingham residents were invited on "Top o' Dunterley Fell". When the school closed, the firemen took over the organisation of a celebration. Concerned about the danger of fireworks, they persuaded all local tradesmen to cease stocking them, raised money and gave the order for the fireworks to each of the local ex- stockists in turn.

Much concern was felt and praise given to the hospital, when Graham's teenage relative died from leukaemia and a village auction was held in the Town Hall. All villagers were asked to become involved, young and old, and everything was auctioned from two nights' baby

sitting offered by teenagers to sailing lessons and week-end holidays. Again and again, it seems that the auctioneer is expected to and does give his time freely. Finally, there remains a formal and accepted way of forming a committee to run a Bellingham special event, on national occasions, such as on "Coronation Day". The Parish Council invites each organisation or institution to send a representative to a meeting, at which officials are appointed.

CHANGE

The literature shows a breakdown of communities. Some which were thriving in the thirties have seen their way of life disappear, for instance because of the self-generating emigration from Ireland with the direct/indirect contact between cultures (see Arensberg & Kimball (1968) & Brody H. (1973) and commuter immigration into East Anglia and Buckinghamshire (Census 1981) (see Robin (1980), Strathern (1981) & Richardson, 1990). The latter may affect communities in two very different ways. Outsiders may want to use the area for a different purpose or alternatively a community may be over-run by non-natives. As long ago as 1890, Tonnies made clear that the, "More alien elements taken in the more it loses its characteristics" (p.27).

It is apparent that wide changes have occurred in the Bellingham area during the course of this century. Some are as a result of changing land use, others because of centralization. Increased mechanization, is the result of developments in the field of science and technology. Other changes arise from the evolution of welfare services such as free medical care and pensions. Bellingham shares in the benefits of national changes that have evolved, particularly those of national welfare

provision. These have a domino effect and dramatic changes are seen in travel, amenities, household provision, family and household groups, care of the old, type of employment available and changes in genealogical descent.

Changing land ownership and topography

At the end of the nineteenth century, most of the land in Bellingham and the district was owned by the Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Haggerstone, the squire and other titled gentry. Some land was let to tenant farmers and small-holders who were, for the main part, engaged in sheep farming. Dramatic changes were heralded in 1926, with a successful forestry experiment in the North Tyne, and by 1950, the two land-owners with control of most of this part of Northumberland were the Forestry Commission and the Ministry of Defence. The latter purchased vast tracts, of land, between the two World Wars, for shooting ranges and training grounds.

In general, the ownership of land, by faceless, absentee landlords causes some unease in other rural areas, too. For instance, the Association of District Councils, in its 1978 Report, voices some of the fears regarding local councils' lack of power. It mentions that local power has been eroded by authority being given to Regional Water Boards, the National Health Service and Housing Corporations. Bellingham locals would add a few more names such as The Forestry Commission, the Ministry of Defence and the National Parks' Commission for much of the area surrounding Bellingham is designated as National Park. MacEwens (1981) in their study of National Parks suggest that the only local parts worth saving are the Cheviots, seeing Northumberland National Park as one of the least interesting landscapes in the United Kingdom, but suggesting

that the people who lived and worked there should have a greater say.

However, land ownership changes, and new overall influences and controls over land development have widespread implications for the villagers. These involve leadership, deference and servility, changing employment, employers and working conditions, availability and tenure of housing, as well as land access, changing leisure facilities and becoming part of or subject to the foibles of large scale organisations rather than of individuals. For example, in the seventies, residents of the North Tyne, led by the squire, opposed the building of Kielder Dam and one of the reasons put forward for plans going ahead was that the land was owned by the Forestry Commission.

The topography has changed, too. Today, in the valleys, the rides of the man-made evergreen forest rise and fall in parallel formation over some of the rolling fells, whilst Ministry of Defence signs warn walkers of the danger of trespassing on other parts of the heather clad landscape. A smaller tract of land, still not accessible to the public, was used by Armstrong Whitworths, the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Armament Company, as a testing ground until after the Second World War. Today, some farms and smallholdings still operate, many being rented from the landed gentry and Ministry of Defence. Several depleted estates, including the squire's on the outskirts of Bellingham, are still viable propositions and sheep farming still predominates. Hareshaw Linn, a walkway through a wooded dene to a thirty foot high waterfall has been bought and promoted as a nature trail, part of a trend of the countryside becoming "the playground" of townsfolk.

However, modern farming techniques, including increased mechanization, have brought much fell land into use. For example,

extensive drainage schemes were implemented by the Forestry Commission and this initiative was extended to the farm land of the area, when the drive to increase food production was at its peak during and immediately after World War II.

Changing settlement patterns.

Jones points out that rural communities were, "more isolated socially and self-contained economically," at the turn of the century (1973,p.16). Nationally, during this time in rural areas, there has been a tendency for the population to polarize into larger communities, of fifty to five hundred homes. While Bellingham has grown, many of the nearby smaller villages and hamlets have disappeared. In the environs of Bellingham, there are half the number of households there were a hundred years ago. During this period, however, there has been an influx of population from the immediate locality into Bellingham. These incomers from other villages and hamlets in the valleys are mainly elderly people. The greatest increase in the number of households is caused by the old choosing to live in their own independent households. Two hundred and twenty-five residents, a quarter of Bellingham's population, are of pensionable age creating some caring jobs locally. In the village, itself, there has been an increase of 159 homes, 84%, since the Second World War. These are mainly houses, but include flats or maisonettes above business premises and a warden controlled complex. As well as these, in the eighties, several homes have been built on land which would have been subject to frequent flooding before the flow of the North Tyne became controlled at Kielder Dam.

The polarisation has been exacerbated by outsiders over-ruling local suggestions in the forties. It was then that councillors opposed plans

to build small forestry settlements in the outlying district. The appeals were dismissed and creation went ahead. Including the forestry villages, the increase in the number of area homes in the whole district which includes Bellingham, since the Second World War, is only four.

Increasing centralization

Since the end of the forties, Bellingham schools have increasingly become local centres of education. In 1950, a secondary modern school was opened drawing its pupils from ten all-age schools in the district. Subsequently it absorbed the secondary population of six other local schools, in two stages. At this juncture, children were being transported up to twenty-eight miles from their homes. When this reorganization was completed, part of the building was then used to house the village primary schools. By the time the secondary school had reached its 25th anniversary, it was affected by the phasing out of tripartite secondary education and was designated as a middle school to serve a slightly smaller area. This terminated the practice of offering children, who lived on remote farms, the option of a boarding school for their secondary education and closed the grammar schools in the nearby market town, where some children had been educated. This effectively confined the under thirteen local children's schooling to the North Tyne and Rede rural area, thus placing more emphasis on local connections.

A similar effect is also to be seen, as a response to national trends. The relatively recent decline in religious observance and participation in public worship is noticeable in Bellingham. The methodist minister characterized the dominance of the elderly among church attendance by explaining that a substantial part of his work

consisted of "burying" his "congregation". One result of this decline in the demand for corporate worship, linked with improved transport facilities, is that the services of the vicar and the minister have been spread more widely than those of their predecessors. Their pastoral duties now extend throughout the area, even though Bellingham is still regarded as the main centre of their activities. For example, the methodist minister is responsible for seven "chapels" involving only a few more than a hundred regular worshippers. The Bellingham Presbyterian church has amalgamated with the Methodist and the two nearby missions have closed. The young methodist minister spoke of the close co-operation and regular meetings with the other two village churchmen, the Roman Catholic and Protestant priests, and suggested that it would be sensible for further amalgamation to take place.

However, a recent trend towards increased centralization has meant that Bellingham & District no longer retains its district council or petty sessions.

Changing Transport Patterns

During the early part of this century, the L.N.E.R. railway represented the most important form of transport for Bellingham, in respect of its connection with distant parts of the county and other parts of the country. Its dominant position, with regard to the community, waned as roads and road transport developed. Bellingham was on the Hawick to Newcastle railway line, and the junction of a branch line from Morpeth, which lies to the east, was two miles south of Bellingham, at Reedsmouth. At that time the railway' employees were the only group of manual workers in the immediate area who had to accept geographical mobility as a possible consequence of their employers'

decisions. However, this section of the rail network was unprofitable, in financial terms from its opening, in the mid nineteenth century, until it was closed in the nineteen fifties. The century of its trading promoted the build-up of a scattering of small-time self-employed horse and cart owners, and later, waggon drivers who serviced the local delivery requirements connected with the goods traffic. After nationalisation, the track was closed as part of the Beeching reorganization and took away what had been regarded as a superior type of employment.

The direct public transport, which the railway provided, to both the nearby city, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Hexham, the nearest market town, met with competition of a bus service shortly after World War I. From the twenties to the sixties these routes were also served by bus, there being three return trips each day to the city and one every two hours to the market town. Only a skeleton of this once flourishing bus service remains. There are now only five return trips, daily, to Hexham. The last bus of the day arrives at six-twenty and leaves at six-thirty. Bus services which connected Bellingham with other nearby communities, to the north-west, north-east and south-west have also ceased.

It is no longer a viable proposition for children from nearby villages to travel to school by public transport. Private buses bring middle school children to Bellingham. Other private buses transport older children to high school. A network of car owners is used to carry the children to pick-up points and/or to transport them directly to schools. Tenders for such transport are invited as vacancies occur. The development of this school transport system escalated when the area modern school opened in 1950. Bellingham, the site of the school,

apparently benefited from an L.E.A. policy which Byrne (1974) describes as "positive discrimination" in favour "of small non-Grammar schools" (p.40). When secondary education was introduced to the area an undertaking was given that transport would be free. The daily cost continues to rise, pupils being transported across open moorland to schools which are up to twenty-five miles distant from their homes. The only advantage to the local population, which is readily apparent, is the provision of additional employment for those adults involved.

This recent trend towards increased employment in local transport is also apparent in other facets of community life. Schemes will always be devised to fill lucrative gaps and the provision of free bus passes for the elderly offered openings for those quick to take advantage of change. One mini-bus owner has organized a regular run along the North Tyne valley, to Kielder, three times daily. Another owner tours the housing estate which is, in parts, almost four hundred yards from the centre of the town once each week to transport elderly and infirm people to the shops. In many cases he calls for his customers in response to a standing order, a request made the previous week, or a message passed on by a third party, in the street or in a pub or a shop. However, during his progress round the housing estate he is responsive to anyone waving from a door or a window. The pick up points for the return trip vary according to the weather and local businesses such as shops obviously see their assistance in this matter as part of their social commitments. For example, the relatively small baker's shop now finds a place for a seat, to be used by those passengers who are shopping to be picked up there. It seems clear that this ride is, for some people, now an important part of social life. For instance, one pensioner, seated in

the baker's, explained "Ah arlways try t' get here a bit orly, so A've time for a bit of a chat. Yuh knar, hear the latest". In the same spirit of provision, there is also a list of "claiming dates", a calendar of forthcoming local events, on the very large notice board in Hazel's.

Changing provision by both local and national government has stimulated alterations in existing transport businesses in the area and the formation of some new ones. It would, however, be rather naive to assume that these changes are in total accord with the kind of development that they were devised to promote. For example, taxi drivers in the area, working part and full-time, had flourishing businesses, in view of the sparse population of the area surrounding Bellingham, until the nineteen-eighties. At the time of writing there are no taxi services or mini-cab services in the immediate area. It has obviously been much more profitable for these services, operated in the main by owner drivers, with the occasional help of a relative or friend, to secure contracts with the D.H.S.S.. Their main function, in this context, is taking patients for routine visits to hospitals in Hexham and, thus, supplementing the ambulance service. The main ambulance service is provided by a fleet of three vehicles and they are garaged at the local ambulance station, which was built on the site of the old Foundry Yard in the late eighties. Full-time employment in the ambulance service is generally held to be a "plum" job. As one of cohort II explained, "Why aye it's a good job. The best A'm likely t' git".

Another emergency service also has its area headquarters in Bellingham. The Fire Service, made up of part-time firemen, was formed at the beginning of World War Two. A purpose-built fire station was constructed in the fifties and has been extended since that time. One of

their regular emergency drills is a practice alert connected with a forest fire. Clearly this kind of drill also concerns the Forestry Commission which also provides local employment at its offices and repair yard, both of which are sited at Bellingham. During the eighties, The Forestry Commission's attitude to centralization changed and an area repair yard with offices was opened in Bellingham to replace those formerly in outlying villages. Because of its position in the Forestry Commission's national network, Bellingham became involved in the aircraft disaster at Lockerbie, over forty miles away. The helicopter search of the forest was centred there and the village show field was used as a landing area.

The use of bicycles flourished between the wars. According to members of cohort I, this was, in part, because of the current relative cheapness of the machines. Cyril, for instance, pointed out:-

Me fatha did weel to manage t'afford one himself. A mean he used t' hev t' give his pay packet t' me motha ivery saturday. He saved up fo' that byke. It wis second-hand. He worked ivery night at somethin' t' get the money. Th' was nee way mi motha could ha iva had owt ower to buy owt like that".

In keeping with national trends, there has also been a marked increase in car ownership since the beginning of the sixties. At the beginning of the eighties, sixty per cent of Bellingham households owned cars (1981 Census). This was the smallest percentage of car ownership in the rural areas of the west of the county. However, car sharing has become a regular practice. In most cases this involves one or more people contributing to the petrol costs of someone who provides them with regular transport to work or trips for leisure activities such as darts' matches or sports' fixtures outside the immediate area. In at least one instance this sharing has been extended as far as the joint

ownership of a car and sharing the consequent maintenance costs. One survey subject of cohort III, a newcomer to the area, was travelling to teach in Otterburn. She had joined the men who worked at Otterburn Camp.

Changing Employment

This will be looked at in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Nevertheless, it seems relevant to mention that there are no employers in the area who provide jobs for a large number of men today. This is despite the Forestry Commission's great optimism in the nineteen forties when, they forecast that, by this point in time, they would be employing a labour force of 6,000 men, who would be resident in the locality of the North Tyne and Rede valleys. Today, the total number of residents in the area is marginally more than 3,000. The greatest numbers of jobs for men in the area are on farms, in forestry and allied work, driving or are in the service industries. Living in the village, itself, 14% of the men are either self-employed or in family businesses. Farms and small businesses tend to be passed down from father to son and in several families father and son are working together. In farming, forestry, building, joinery, plumbing and electrical work, there tend to be as many young employees as old, but only one young man has followed his father and grandfather into quarrying. Increasingly councils, Parish, District and County have offered employment, taking over road making and refuse collecting and offering office employment. Today, half of the married women under sixty are housewives alone and a further fifth work part-time. All but four jobs are in the service industries.

Other Changes

National changes must not be under-estimated when considering local changes. They have far reaching effects and when applied locally can

have very different results. The most significant changes have been in housing, medical facilities and pensions for all. The majority of the dwellings at the turn of the century were of one or two rooms, run down, without amenities and rented from private landlords. Bellingham benefited from increased council provision from the Second World War onwards and, today, has adequate housing, over half of which is privately owned, with very pleasing provision made for the old, who, in years past, could not have afforded or could not have been been provided with the care to live alone. Single people are still expected to live within their homes of origin. The work-house closed in the thirties and, today, unlike in the cities, Bellingham has no vagrants or people "sleeping rough".

Changing land use may have affected local health and whilst the old who were brought up within the shadow of the quarry suffer from the more rare cancers, there are cases of leukaemia among teen-agers, children of those who spent their childhoods on the isolated farms towards Spadeadam and adjacent to the man-made forest. Better medical care, particularly of women, together with few girls having to seek residential employment, appear to have contributed to a local change in genealogical descent, this century. Whereas, the old were pre-dominantly men at the turn of the century, the old, today, are pre-dominantly women and from a marked patrilineal descent family pattern in the past, a matrilineal one is now pre-dominant. This will be developed in chapter 4.

CONCLUSION

Stacey suggests that, "Process involves movement and it

follows that no social system is static....time....is essential to the conceptualization of any social system" (p.20). The material collected for this study, which refers to a period spanning more than ninety years of life in Bellingham, indicates the presence of a complicated but coherent pattern of life, which depends upon the development and inter-relationships within and between social groups and institutions. This constitutes a local social structure which exists between the parameters of group allegiance and locally accepted territorial perception. The continuing modification of the system, as it responds, in its own way, to extrinsic influences, societal development and both national and local influences and controls, presents an image of homoeostatic development which is akin to evolution. It therefore seems reasonable to categorize Bellingham, as outlined in this study, as a social entity. Over time, the communal features of the village have remained but have adapted to both inside and outside influences. Such is this dynamic social group which can validly be regarded as a local village community. The three propositions which Stacey takes "as axiomatic in the study of society that: (1) society is outside any one man in the Durkheimian sense of exteriority, (11) each man has a particular position in society and (iii) each man has internalized a particular collection of norms and values from society, involving attitudes and emotions" apply to Bellingham whatever nomenclature is applied to it (p.17). It is not only a social system but a very special one. It is a community.

At the turn of the century, there were many rural settlements which shared the same broad demographic outline as Bellingham and could be termed communities. Many of these have since been subject to changes which have radically altered their basic characteristics. Emigration and

immigration are quoted as being particularly destructive. For example Brody(1973) tells that emigration, which had become endemic in the mid-nineteenth century had endured and that a self-generating quality about rural/urban migration had caused the decline of communities in western Ireland. Strathern(1981) explains the effect of the large influx of residents on East Anglian rural villages. Tyack's (1984) and Richardson's (1990) works refer to a similar effect in a rapidly expanding "commuter belt". Other communities have been radically altered when their permanent residents have been overshadowed by people using the settlements as a base for holiday homes, a circumstance mentioned by Wylie (1960) when he returned to a "Village in the Vaucluse".

The fact that Bellingham has hitherto managed to escape this kind of influence may be as much a product of a fortuitous set of circumstances which attend its geographical location as any other cause. For example the limited transport links, including the effect of the closure of its railway links during the nineteen fifties, have continued to foster a degree of isolation which has tended to promote a lasting and genuine form of living together, cited by Tonnies (1955) as the essence of gemeinschaft. The same remoteness has also clearly been significant in respect of "having something in common" which Frankenberg (1966) points out as a fundamental part of community existence. It has also contributed to the local importance of Bellingham in economic terms, which echoes Emmett's (1964) view that, a community forms or has formed an economic unit. Similarly the isolated character of the rural settlement has reinforced its influence on the childhood of its younger members, thus greatly increasing the probability that shared values will

be learned and thus, as Mills (1959) explains, become part of personality and bind the community together.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HOUSEHOLD GROUP

INTRODUCTION

A comparison of the cross-sectional data on the number, sizes and types of household groups in Bellingham towards the end of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows, in the first instance, that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of households. This has doubled. It is also apparent that there has been an increase in the number of households of one person only, married couples only and nuclear families with employed children. On the other hand, there has been a decline in the size of the household group as well as a decline in the percentage of nuclear family (see p.93) household groups. Whilst the change in the number of household groups consisting of a single parent with dependent children, may not be statistically significant in this context, it is indicative of a general trend. The number of those consisting of a single parent with employed children has also declined.

Table 3.1. TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS IN BELLINGHAM (1891 and 1989).

Ref:- The census figures for the Bellingham sub-district of the Bellingham Union Registrar's District of 1891, the most recent ones for which sub-district details are published. The sub-district corresponds with the Bellingham Ward of the electoral roll of 1989 (see p.20/21).

	%	1891		%	1989.	
One person family	14	24		30	103	
Married couple only	8	14		27	91.	
Nuclear family only	25	42	52 31%		74	74 22%
Nuclear family+related/unrelated	6	10		*0	0	
Nuclear family + employed ch.	8	14		12	40	
Single parent + dependent ch.	5	9		4	15	
Single parent + employed ch.	8	14		4	14	
Sibling households	5	8		2	6	
3 generation	8	14		1	3	
Other	9	15		0	1	
Institutions	workhouse	1		Abbey home	1	
		171			342.	

* Paying guests were obviously not included on the electoral roll unless they had been co-opted into the household group.

Comparisons also indicate a decline of sibling households, three generation households and there are fewer household groups made up of a family and others (see table 3.1).

However, nuclear family household groups made up twenty-five per cent of all household groups in 1891 and make up marginally less, today. It could seem, from such data, that the nuclear family group is not of central importance to the study of household groups. This is far from true. Reviewing the demographic outline of the community household groups, at the end of the nineteenth century, reveals its importance, at that time (see table 3.2).

(Table 3.2). THE POSITION OF NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS 1891

		Total number of Households
Unoccupied houses		22
Households		
one person homes	(15 women 9 men)	24
couples	(including 7 married couples)	14
nuclear families	42	66
nuclear families + others e.g. servant(s), boarder, relation	10	
immediate families which include employed son(s)/daughter(s)	14	
single parent families	(11 women, 4 men)	15
single parent families with employed son(s)/daughter(s)		14
sibling households (including children, lodgers, servants)		8
three generation households (including lodgers)		14
§other (including 2nd degree kin, lodgers, boarders, servants)		15
work house		1
Total		171

Households consisting of a modified form of a nuclear type, for the main part, were due to new households being founded, nuclear household groups being depleted and other members joining a group. The household groups of a husband and wife were those living in depleted family homes and of couples who had no children. Sibling household groups were either depleted nuclear family groups or sibling groups which had reformed after the deaths of spouse/s. Single parent family

groups were, for the main part, depleted nuclear families and included a widow/widower and in some cases an unmarried mother whilst those groups which included three generations, nieces/nephews, child boarders or servants were extensions of nuclear family groups. The number of boarders and lodgers suggest the number of male employees staying in the area for employment as well as the number of itinerant hawkers. During the succeeding years, the period being considered, the extent and rate of societal development and community evolution, including increased provision of housing and the provision of welfare and health care, have been such that the continuing importance of the nuclear family group is not always self-evident.

Any snapshot of the community could fail to reveal the continuing dominant role of the nuclear family household group and the pivotal importance of the household group of origin which shows itself in the biographies of the survey subjects and within the two dimensional longitudinal data made available in this study. It is my hypothesis that such a group, throughout this century, has remained central to the life history of individuals and to the formation and dissolution of households within the community. The nuclear household groups are vital components of the overlapping social networks and are the bricks of which the Bellingham community is built.

It is, therefore, my intention to look at the size, type and changes in household groups within Bellingham this century, basing my arguments for the main part on the data and interviews provided by the survey subjects. In addition, because being a member of the local social system is central to community life, the location of the survey subjects' homes in relation to Bellingham, at three stages of their lives will be

considered. These are family of origin, family of procreation and depleted stages.

THE HOUSEHOLD GROUP

Throughout the time span investigated the core of the residential household group, for the most part, has been the immediate family. Each household group includes members who both use and provide resources. Such a group, therefore, has a formative role to play with regard to individual community members, for, according to the literature, the functions of a family are perceived to represent a key role in aspects of life such as socialization of children, personality stabilization and religion, as well as procreation, sexual relations, child care and the economic provision, involving shelter, clothing, food and warmth.

In Bellingham, as in most social groups, societal expectations of the individual tend to lead towards pair bonding, which encourages individuals to leave the family of origin and found a new household group. However, this is one of at least two competing pressures. Tonnies (1890) observes that staying together is natural, "...whilst in every instance special reason has to be given for separation" (p.59). Two women of cohort I, now aged eighty and eighty-five respectively, have remained in the same homes in which they spent their childhood, even though one has been married twice and, the second, was joined by her niece and nephew for their schooldays. There were also indications that other subjects found their childhood homes to be a source of solace, or a cocoon of security in times of stress. Two men of the same cohort, who returned to the household groups of their families of origin, recounted their returns with the same happy relief that might attend the comfort

of a return to the cloisters. The first did so with his son following the desertion of his wife and the second returned alone, at the age of fifty-one, after his second marriage failed.

Another woman, a member of cohort II, has lived in the same house as long as she can remember. This is the family farm where her husband took up residence, within her family of origin, after their marriage. A man of this cohort has also lived only in one household group, except for his compulsory absence during his "National Service", of which he claims to have hated every minute. Four men and two women of cohort III reside within their homes of origin, but under thirty-five years of age, they are as yet, unmarried. In addition, a member of cohort III, has lived in a residential college and spent some time abroad before rejoining the family household group.

COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

Paying due attention to the importance of early life, as outlined above, my research was angled to lay especial stress on the location of childhood, since the village community is liable to exert a considerable influence on a family's perception of its role within the social system. Two thirds of the survey subjects spent at least part of their childhood living within the Bellingham community (see table 3.3). Such early residence ensures continuity and common memories, some of which are acquired. Mills (1959) suggests of early life, that shared values which are learned become part of the personality and bind a society together whilst Shorter makes the point that:-

> To know the unwritten rules of a complex social system, full of informal face-to-face contact one must be around a long time. It helps to have been born in a place and to have absorbed its norms as children learn such things in growing up (1976, p.235).

Table 3.3. LOCATION OF CHILDHOOD COHORTS I-III.

CHILDHOOD	cI	cII	cIII
All in Bellingham	13 (9male 4female)	14 (8male 6female)	8 (4male 4female)
only Ist part in Bellingham	1 (1male 0female)	0 (0male 0female)	1 (0male 1female)
only 2nd part in Bellingham	4 (0male 4female)	1 (0male 1female)	6 (4male 2female)
Some in Bellingham	18 (10male 8female)	15 (8male 7female)	15 (8male 7 female)
Total	24	24	24

Conclusion

Cohort I	18 all/part of childhood in Bellingham.
Cohort II	15 all/part in Bellingham.
Cohort III	15 all/part in Bellingham.
Total	48.

LOCATION OF HOUSEHOLD - PROCREATION STAGE.

	COHORT I	II	III
All in Bellingham	12 (6male 6female)	11 (6male 5female)	3 (1male 2 female)
First part in Bellingham	3 (2male 1female)	2 (0male 2female)	0 (0male 0 female)
Second part in Bellingham	5 (3male 2female)	8 (4male 4female)	7 (4male 3 female)
Some in Bellingham	20 (11male 9female) +1 single female +1 childless fem	21 (10male 11female) +1 single male +1 childless m+1f	10 (5male 5 female) +6single m+ 3f +1childless m+4f
Outside	1male 1female		

CHAPTER 3 - HOUSEHOLD GROUP

Among the survey subjects taken to Bellingham as children within nuclear family groups were two females of cohort I, one female of cohort II and three males and two females of cohort III. In each case one of the subject's parents was returning to the community of his/her childhood. Another member of cohort I was taken to Bellingham by her terminally ill mother and remained with a maternal aunt and her husband after the mother's death. It was generally accepted, within the community, that all the children's life chances were enhanced by returning.

Twenty-four survey subjects, six of cohort I and nine of each of cohorts II and III spent none of their childhood living within the village. These included thirteen of the eighteen survey subjects categorized as members of the professional classes. It is to these community survey subjects, whose membership does not depend upon childhood residence, that particular attention is now given. This calls to mind Frankenberg's assertion that, "Each community also had to have some means of socialization - integrating newcomers by birth or immigration into the social pattern" (1966, p.268).

Of the six of cohort I whose homes of residence during childhood were not in Bellingham, three were already members of the overlapping social networks before marriage and, therefore part of the social pattern. For instance, Marget, as a teen-ager, had accepted residential work within the community and attended the Roman Catholic Church as well as social functions concomitant with her status. Joe was a member of the same congregation and as a resident of nearby, Woodburn, attended social events within Bellingham. The third, Mary, was a private adult evacuee

to the area and, as well as being directed into employment within the village, she became an active member of the Church of England and a member of the Women's Institute and Dramatic Society.

The other three joined the community during the procreation stage of their lives. Angela's second husband was a member by birth and had kinship connections within it, Dorothy came when her husband's promotion took him there and they were given the tenancy of a new council house as an incentive, whilst Cliff arrived within his nuclear family to take up his post as bank manager and the tenancy which went with it.

Of the nine of cohort II not residing in Bellingham during the family of origin stage, six were already integrated members of the social networks before marriage. For instance, some of Joe's employment group left Bellingham by waggon each morning and picked him up with other workmates on the way to the quarry. As well as belonging to an overlapping kinship group, he had access to social groups within the pubs and dance halls. Daphne, who also had second degree kin within the village, as well as Gillian and Anne, were all members of school groups which included Bellingham pupils and they also attended social functions and shopped within the village. Margaret and Jill found employment within the community and Brian within the area, and became members of several village networks before marriage whilst Bob's wife was a part of a kinship group. One professional of this cohort, Mike, was drawn into the system by being offered employment and housing within the village during the procreation stage.

Of the nine of cohort III, Johny and Kate had both chosen to live in Bellingham, the former finding employment there and the latter a home with her sister after an unsuccessful marriage. Mandy and Sue, who lived

within the district, were part of some of the social groups, too. Chris and Joan joined the community during the procreation stage of their lives. However, both their spouses had spent part of childhood in Bellingham. Davey, Mike and Kathy's husband, all professionals, were sent to take up posts there.

Immigrant survey subjects who married into the community were, thus, for the main part, from the surrounding district, and seldom belonged to the transient professional classes, except in the cases of spinster teachers, over the age of thirty, who were found partners within the community. Thus, only a very small minority of the survey subjects, all with professional employment, were catapulted into the Bellingham local social system during the procreation stage of life. Of the sub-group who became residents within the community during the procreation stage, only six of them, two of cohort I, one of cohort II and three of cohort III were not part of some of the Bellingham overlapping social networks when they became residents. They recalled the period, during which they, as Dorothy put it, "...had to accept and got used to the Bellingham ways". One of the most often quoted difficulties they encountered was being engaged in conversation, by a virtual stranger, in the street with a question or piece of advice being used as an opening gambit. Four commented on how their sons and daughters "had settled in" immediately. However, they, themselves, had been forced by a whirlwind into the local social system with all its idiosyncrasies.

Only two survey subjects, both Bellingham born, spent the family of procreation stage living outside Bellingham. However, Biddy lived on a nearby smallholding and the family were integral members of the social system whilst the other chose to return to his family of origin on his

own during this stage.

CHANGE IN MEAN SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD GROUP

The mean size of a household group has gradually decreased over time. In Bellingham, today, it is only 59% of the mean size of the household group in 1891. The mean size of village family household groups to which the survey subjects belonged in childhood show a decrease from 6.6, to 5.5 and on to 4.7 for the three cohorts. (Such figures, by their very nature are of families with children and therefore the mean number will be higher than the size shown in table 3.4). Nevertheless, a similar pattern is disclosed. The average number of children per family fell from 3.4, to 3.0 and to 2.3 for the three cohorts.

Average size of household group in Bellingham Parish Table 3.4.

Ref: Census Returns.	
1891	4.31
1901	4.07
1911	3.98
1921	4.06
1931	3.35
1961	2.92
1971	2.71
1981	2.53

Members of the household groups are the components of which the Bellingham community is built. The trend towards these groups appearing to be dominated by one person households, those of two people and by those of elderly members has increased significantly. For instance, whilst there were seventy-eight men and women over today's retirement age in 1891, there are two hundred and twenty-five, today.

CHAPTER 3 - HOUSEHOLD GROUP

TYPES OF BELLINGHAM HOUSEHOLDS

Taking in tandem that Parsons found that the conjugal family is the normal residential household unit in America (1956,p.7), and Brannen & Wilson point out that, "....the natural unit may appear to be the nuclear one" (1987, p.1), I take a nuclear family to describe a family of parents and dependent children. This does lead to some anomalies, and I found it expedient, in the interests of more descriptive analysis, to include in this group families whose members included both dependent children and their economically active siblings. For instance, seven survey subjects of cohort I spent all of their childhood in a nuclear household situation. As these families were comparatively large averaging 3.4 children, and the majority of these children joined the work force, aged twelve to fourteen, it is obvious that many of the subjects were reared in household groups which included economically active siblings.

A dearth of dwellings suitable for single people in the locality has also increased the likelihood that economically active young people will remain in the family of origin household. With regard to economically independent young people remaining with their parents, it is interesting to speculate whether a lack of viable alternatives has caused them to do so or whether their choosing to do this has obviated the need for alternative provision. If it is the former, a paradoxical consequence of this arises from the fact that, it is thus an accepted norm, in Bellingham, that economically active young people, increasingly have remained within the households of their families of origin. This has resulted in a lack of demand for the provision of suitable housing for single young people, which tends to reinforce the status quo.

CHAPTER 3 - HOUSEHOLD GROUP

The centrality of the nuclear family to the lives of community members remains, although it is somewhat masked. Eighty-two per cent of the survey subjects spent some of childhood within a nuclear household group and ninety-seven per cent during the procreation stage. Marginally fewer of those who spent part/all of their childhood and part/all of the procreation stage in Bellingham lived within a nuclear household group (see table 3.5). The following basic classification of household groups, used in this study, has been developed from the aforementioned information :-

1. those which were nuclear (including economically active children),
2. those which were never nuclear,
3. the remainder.

(Table 3.5) LOCATION & TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD OF ORIGIN - COHORTS I - III.

Family of origin stage.

TYPE	COHORT cI		cII		cIII	
	B	O	B	O	B	O
Nuclear	7	3	4	5	10	6
Sub-total	10		9		16	
Never nuclear	2	2	4	4	1	-
Mix	9	1	7	-	4	3
Total	24		24		24	

Key:- B Bellingham O Outside Bellingham

This categorization appears to be valid in this context. For example Social Trends 19 in the chart, 2.3, "Households: by type", adds significant footnotes regarding 'Married couples with no children',

"Other individuals who were not family members may also have been present" and adds that, with regard to married couples with one or more dependent children, such "... family types may also include non-dependent children". Obviously the number of children in a family governs the length of time, which that group can be considered a nuclear family. An increase in the number of children in the family group necessarily extends the time during which the household contains dependent members.

NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLD GROUPS

For the main part, there was no shortage of housing in rural areas, such as Bellingham, before World War II. However, the available dwellings tended to be both run-down and without amenities and, hence, rents were low. Married couples, therefore, found it comparatively easy to set up new homes on their own. Nevertheless, despite these favourable circumstances, the occurrence of World War II prevented an increase in the dominance of the nuclear family group household, and cohort II during childhood and the procreation stage of life were the least likely to spend all the time within nuclear groups.

Table 3.6. NUCLEAR FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS.

Cohort I	II	III	
18	15	15	all/part of childhood in Bellingham.
16	10	14	all/part in nuclear family group.
7	4	10	all in nuclear family group.
2	4	1	all in grandparents' home.
-	1	-	one parent family.

CHAPTER 3 - HOUSEHOLD GROUP

The entire Bellingham procreation stage of the families of twenty survey subjects was in a nuclear household. This number includes four of the twenty members of cohort I who were parents, nine of the twenty-one in cohort II and seven of of the ten members of cohort III who have children (see table 3.7). This reflects how much the housing situation has improved, during the time span covered by this study. Only one survey subject of cohort I and two subjects of cohort II have passed through this stage of their lives without founding a nuclear household. One subject in each of cohorts I and II reared their children on the family farms which were the households of their families of origin. The other member of cohort II chose to move in with her aunt, together with her husband, when accommodation was difficult to find, and stayed on within the household.

(Table.3.7) FAMILY OF PROCREATION- TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD GROUP Cohorts I-III

TYPE	COHORT					
	cI 22		cII 21		cIII 10	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Nuclear	6		9		7	
	2	4	5	4	4	3
Never nuclear	1		1		0	
	1	0	0	1	0	0
Mix	15		11		3	
	9	6	5	6	1	2
Total	22		21		10	

OTHER HOUSEHOLD GROUPS. NEVER NUCLEAR OR A MIX OF HOUSEHOLD TYPES

The function of the family of origin continues long after a member has joined another household group. It gives a permanent place to its members. For instance thirty-one per cent of survey subjects, during childhood, spent at least one period within the household of origin of a parent and forty per cent during the family of procreation stage lived within the family of origin of husband or wife. Such probable "long-term involvement" was disputed by Parsons in his work in America (1956, P.300). A change in the type of household group during any stage in life is primarily caused by the death of a founder member within the household group, the cessation of a parent's family of origin household group or in the times of acute house shortage, when an empty house becomes available.

(Table 3.8) FAMILY OF ORIGIN STAGE

Principal reasons for deviation from a nuclear household

REASON	COHORT CI		CII		CIII	
	B	O	B	O	B	O
Single parent	4	1	4	-	1	-
Household of relatives	4	1	5	4	1	2
Other relatives in household	2	-	-	-	3	1
Non-relations in household	1	1	2	-	-	-
Total Never nuclear & mix	14		15		8	

CHAPTER 3 - HOUSEHOLD GROUP

It was traditional for a craftsman or tradesman to hand down his family home and business to a son and in some cases a daughter. Occasionally a cottager handed down the tenancy of his home. Because of this practice, five of cohort I and two of cohort II lived, for some time, with their immediate families within one of their parents' homes of origin during childhood and, of these, one of each cohort, for all of it. Doris, on marriage, became the housekeeper not only for her husband but his nephew also as they were the two remaining members of a family household when Jim's mother died.

(Table 3.9) PROCREATION STAGE

Principal reasons for deviation from a nuclear household

REASON	COHORT CI	CII	CIII
Single parent	3	2	1
Household of relatives	10	9	2
Other relatives in household	2	1	0
Non-relative household	1	0	0
Total Never nuclear & mix	16	12	3

The pattern of three generations living within one household, akin to "la famille souche", continued until the forties when the majority of the traditional craftsmen ceased to trade. A similar system continued among farming families until the eighties. By that time, farm cottages

had been upgraded and the older generation tended to move out of the family houses. Today, Lance and his wife live in a farm cottage whilst his son's family live in the farm. Similarly, Kathleen's family live in the farm and her mother in the adjoining converted building.

The other survey subject of cohort I, three of cohort II and one of cohort III, who did not experience living within a nuclear group situation as children, were illegitimate. The generally accepted practice is seen with regard to all cohorts, that an illegitimate child joined the "tail" of the maternal family of origin, with or without the mother. However, the mother of one subject was a widow and this survey subject was the only one to spend all his childhood within a one parent household situation. It is worth noting at this point, that the local magistrates, in the twenties and thirties, seemed to treat unmarried mothers sympathetically, decreeing that a child's father should support them to the level of the equivalent weekly sum that could be earned, by a woman, for half-time work. For instance an examination of the Register of Summary Jurisdiction, Bellingham Division for 1926 reveals an award, for bastardy of 5/- per week. A different attitude was taken by society in the fifties and two survey subjects were persuaded to leave Bellingham before their pregnancy became noticeable with a view to having their children adopted.

Reasons for deviation from a nuclear family status- Family of Procreation.

A place is always there in the family of origin for a member, his/her spouse and their children. During the family of procreation stage of the survey subjects of cohorts I & II, the housing situation was desperate and as well as the survey subjects of farming families

beginning married life within a household of origin, other survey subjects did so, too. A member of cohort II did so within the depleted family of her mother's home of origin. This is additional evidence that the parental family of origin continues to provide a home when needed by adult children and grandchildren. The housing situation was plainly the primary cause of a need for this kind of support, during the early part of the establishment of new family groups. Here again, biography and history intercept, and it was World War II which affected the housing position. Soon afterwards, local authorities initiated rapid building programmes and Bellingham Rural District Council accepted the names of engaged couples on to their housing list. Thus two members of cohort I, in the late forties, were able to set up their own home, on marriage.

Changes in the composition of household groups were caused by birth, death, divorce, separation, re-marriage, and cohabitation. Two members of cohort I, one of whom had no children, and two members of cohort II experienced the death of a spouse. Three subjects in the former group and two in the latter also had to cope with the death of a child. There were other deaths which affected household groups. These included the deaths of the mothers of two members of cohort I and the deaths of the father and mother-in-law respectively of two members of cohort II and the death of an aunt, of a member of the same cohort. Changes, some of which were temporary, were caused by additional relatives joining the household to assist in caring for a sick member or to receive an increased level of care from the household because of his/her own sickness or infirmity.

However, as the incidence of divorce and separation increases, a continuation of home of origin support is seen, at a later point in the

procreation stage of the survey subjects' lives. The nuclear households of six subjects, three in cohort I, two in cohort II and one in cohort III, were altered by disruption of the parental relationships. This included marriage breakdown and the death of a spouse. In five instances, the subjects involved returned to their families of origin with the remainder of the nuclear family. One survey subject of I and another of cohort III did so. The latter remarried and settled in Bellingham.

When a family of origin has been finally depleted to one member, it has a knock-on effect on an established family of procreation of the next generation. It has been the usual practice, until recently, that the two would combine in some way. The nuclear family status of two subjects in cohort I and one in cohort II was modified during the procreation stage when a relative took up residence there. In all three cases, this was an instance of the family caring for a remaining founder member of a parental family of origin. A second family in cohort II was affected in a similar way whilst giving a temporary home to a niece, whose mother spent a prolonged period of time in hospital.

Those heads of depleted families, in the survey, who are not native to Bellingham, have found the most difficulty in caring for their elderly relatives. This occurs mainly when the relatives are in need of a modicum of support and close regular contact is necessary, in order to monitor possible increasing difficulty. The remoteness of the village tends to restrict this kind of contact. Mary, for example, pointed out, that it had been very difficult to travel twenty-five miles, by public transport, to regularly visit her elderly mother. Consequently, such incomers, tend to accept their elderly parents into their households

long before they are in need of the level of care that necessitates this and the relative often has difficulty in establishing an acceptable role, both in the household and the village. In contrast, those subjects who are resident in Bellingham with elderly relatives living there, too, are able, with the aid of close friends and neighbours, to provide a substantial, wide ranging level of care and support. In only one instance, did a local-born survey subject report that it had been necessary to "take her mother in".

Thirty-five survey subjects in depleted family households are currently resident in the village. These include eight men who are classified as manual, five as self-employed and three as professional. Also included, are eleven women in the manual classification, five in the self-employed and three in the professional. Five families in this group, today, include a bachelor son. The youngest is eighteen, the oldest thirty-five. Employment and marriage patterns are closely related and the residential school which had employed teen-age girls on its staff, closed in 1978. A source of partners had been terminated.

Although the children of the other depleted family groups, in theory, have left home, most in this sub-group of survey subjects are in close contact with their offspring and the sense of identity associated with the family group remains, for the most part, intact. For instance, the sons of three subjects, returning to this country after unsuccessful attempts to settle in Canada and Australia respectively, rejoined their own family of origin households. In another instance, a survey subject's household has been joined, at regular intervals of about three years, by a daughter's nuclear family. This occurs between the various tours of duty allocated to her son-in-law, who works in the civil service. Her

grandson, from the same group, now lives with her, in order to complete his education in England. Similarly Jane of cohort II has continued to offer a temporary home to her daughter's immediate family in periods between army posting. The family of Isa, of cohort I, also provided a home for her son's nuclear family whilst they waited to buy a small business and find accommodation. This type of contact and commitment is clearly part of the assumed responsibility of all family members of depleted family groups, who remain in the community. Probably the feeling of security which it invokes is significant with regard to the "belonging" referred to by community members.

CHANGES IN COMMUNITY HOUSEHOLD GROUPS

Pennington says of groups, "...even though membership may change, (they) are continually changing at both individual and group levels to accommodate changes in the environment, the task and within the group" (1986, p.225). Bellingham household groups display such a pattern and those which endure over time are far from static for more than comparatively short periods of time, being subject to constant alterations and modification, as the composition of the groups alters and the status of their members changes.

The pivotal importance of the household group of origin with, in most cases, its inevitable breakdown, contributed to changes in the household group in which survey subjects lived. The findings suggest that the households of the next generation are affected when the household of the family of origin is finally dispersed. This seems to be a part of the potency and intricacy of the family structure referred to by Lamb (1982), who points out that, in his work, there "...emerged an

appreciation that families are complex social systems, comprising a network of relationships within which each individual has the potential to influence every other member both directly and indirectly".

Until the last twenty years, for the main part, the remaining member of a family living within a family of origin household was either joined by others or joined others. During the time span covered by this research there is an apparent correlation between the availability of resources, either intrinsic to the group or extrinsic, and the likelihood that a household group would incorporate a wider generational span. This tendency was, for example, more apparent during the early years of the century. Then an aged widow who was considered to be too frail or infirm to cope with her housework would normally be incorporated into the household of one of her daughters or sons and thus, together with her daughter's/son's children extend the household group across three generations. Alternatively the family would join her. Nowadays, when it is not the only option to more drastic solutions, this kind of arrangement is relatively uncommon.

Another reason for changing the type or dwelling place of a nuclear household group was that each household was expected to have a housekeeper. "The men did no housekeepin' then" and consequently widowers tended to be joined by a daughter or son's family. This continued until the middle of the century. There was also a disparity of almost forty years between the ages of the parents of another member of the same cohort. They had apparently met and married when he, then a man of mature years, had employed her, a much younger person, as a housekeeper, following the death of his first wife.

Significant changes in societal attitudes to the care of children

and the need to earn a basic means of support is very obvious from the biographical details of some of the survey subjects, too. The link between employment and household group changes is apparent. At the beginning of the century it was usual for mothers of illegitimate children to leave them in the care of a relation and go back "to place". Such had been the position of eight of cohort I & II's mothers. Other families accepted orphaned nieces and nephews into their homes.

Provision for a young woman's illegitimate child often caused further complications later. This happened, for example if both the child's maternal grandparents died before he/she was economically independent, or even before he/she had established his/her own household group. For example the families of a member of cohort I and a member of cohort II each had an elder half-brother join the group when their grandparents died. The cousin of another member of cohort II was added to the survey subject's nuclear family group, when the founder members of his father's family of origin died. Joe, having been so much younger than his adoptive siblings, had eventually become the sole remaining occupant of the household whilst still a teenager. There were also two instances in which the childhood households of members of cohort I and cohort II were augmented by the addition of a bachelor uncle and spinster aunt. Of cohort III's generation there were fewer illegitimate children growing up within the community and grandparents are living longer, today.

Details of the survey subjects' childhood and procreation stages indicate that the greatest number of immediate families, within the three cohorts, living within the household of origin of a parent, was in the first two cohorts. This is clear evidence of historical events of

international dimensions directly affecting the community via the biographies of its members. The absence, injury or death of family members, some of which could be ascribed to the First and Second World Wars caused great upheavals in households, affecting basic characteristics, such as composition, available resources and community status. Two of cohort II were in nuclear families until their fathers were conscripted into the army and the structure of the families of another two members of the same cohort were modified when they provided a home for evacuees. Although evacuees were billeted in only four of the childhood homes of survey subjects, the family groups of two other subjects were affected in this way, as a direct consequence of the war. These two families were joined by relatives, from other parts of the country, who were seeking a safe place to live.

However, not all fundamental biographical effects were due to events of, international, national or even regional importance. The fathers of six survey subjects, members of cohorts I and II, died during the members' childhood. In one case a mother subsequently died. Overall, household groups were very much more fluid at the beginning of this century than they are today. Hazel gave as a reason for the make-up of their household group that there was a 'bedfast' adult living within it, other than the members of the nuclear family (see table 3.6). Places were found for the infirm before the advent of the National Health Service. These lodgers were bedridden old people who could pay or have paid for them a paltry sum rather than move into the work-house. Doss-houses for short time stays were needed to cope with the many carters and other travellers- itinerant hawkers and workers who travelled by foot and rail. There was great geographical movement within a very

limited area due to limited transport and conditions of employment. For instance, Isa said that her father could be away weeks at a time road making. Altogether, four of the childhood households of cohort I and two of members of cohort II took in lodgers for small financial gain.

Material collected from cohorts I and II shows the practice of some families having "live-in" servants. This was curtailed by World War II but continued among the survey subjects' families until the fifties. However, four survey subjects, three of cohort I and one of cohort II, as children, lived for some time in households with residential servants and, of these, only one regarded them as part of the family. The latter was a member of a country farming family similar to that of which Warr wrote, "...the hired help, the domestic servant and the craft apprentice" acquired "...the status of temporary family member" (1976,p.5). The others made plain that the servants were not regarded as members of the family group, a finding given by Laslett (1983). Derek of cohort II explained that his sister Betty, after having worked for the doctor for over ten years, was sent home when she was ill. Isa was sent home to help to nurse her sick brothers who had been sent back from their army unit, stationed in Blyth, when they developed influenza. Marget indicated the difference between family members and servants. She had a greater affinity with the animals than the family. Speaking of the First World War, she commented with great sadness, "Aye, Master Willie came back ...but not Dick (the working horse)".

However, it was not only the employees who regarded a servant as still a part of the family of origin household. The residential servant had a right to a place back home, with all its implications, and the mother expected to be given wages either directly from the employer or

from her own working child. Both girls and boys, leaving school at as early an age as twelve before the First World War and as late as fifteen in the fifties were encouraged to take up residential employment. Such a practice continued until later in this century for girls than for boys. However, altogether, nine members of cohort I, (four young men, between the ages of fourteen and twenty-three and five girls aged from thirteen to nineteen), and seven members of cohort II, whose ages ranged from twelve to seventeen left home to continue or obtain employment. In some cases restricted family resources and the current ambient economic conditions together with the authority exercised by their parents precluded many of the moves from being regarded as voluntary.

Five girls and one boy who left home, went into "service", residential work as servants. Goodwin remembered, "I lived in. It was badly paid but me mam needed the money." Another, recalling life in the forties, said:-

A never got a penny. Me motha got the money. If A wanted a shillin' for the dance when a was home she used t' say, 'Ask y' fatha'.... and our Mary left home cos she was earnin' good money and me motha still wadn't give her the money t' go t' a dance at Elsdon (a neighbouring village)!

Kathleen explained, "A got fourteen shillin's an' ten pence a week wi' not a lot o' time off. Me mother got the lot".

THE FLUID HOUSEHOLD GROUP

Table 3.91 records the reasons for survey subjects leaving their family of origin for the first time. Such moves, during the dependent phase of childhood were restricted to minorities of members of cohorts I and II. They were associated with either privilege or deprivation. Two members of this sub-group spent most of their schooldays in orphanages

and three others attended boarding schools. The absence of such instances among the members of cohort III is probably the result of changing welfare provision and attitudes to education.

(fig.3.91) REASON FOR RESIDING AWAY FROM HOUSEHOLD OF ORIGIN Ist Time SURVEY SUBJECTS LIVING IN BELLINGHAM

REASON	cI		cII		cIII	
	number		number		number	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
Within Depleted Family of Origin	0.	2.	0.	1.	4.	2.
School or Orphanage	3.	0.	1.	1.	0.	0.
University or college	0.	0.	0.	1.	1.	1.
Employment	2.	4.	1.	3.	1.	0.
Forces	4.	1.	5.	0.	0.	0.
Marriage	0.	1.	1.	1.	2.	3.
Total	9.	8.	8.	7.	8.	6.

Data recorded in table 3.91 suggests that, during the research period that most of the community members were prompted, or virtually forced, to leave their family homes initially by economic pressures. In the cases of three of the people in the survey this may have been regarded as an investment in the future or a more potent status enhancement than other employment or forms of training, since they left to take advantage of higher education. Such an option was not available to the great majority of cohort I and none was in this category. Other

members of cohorts I and II were forced to leave home by mobilization for War Service or National service. A smaller minority, throughout the whole group, left their family of origin for the first time as a consequence of marriage. It is interesting to note that as the economic pressures on succeeding groups abated, the instance of this increased.

Table 3.92. REASON FOR LEAVING HOME FINAL TIME FAMILY OF ORIGIN

COHORTS I-III (Residents of Bellingham).

REASON	cI		cII		cIII	
	male	female	male	female	male	female
N/A. Within Depleted F of O.	2.	2.	1.	1.	5.	3.
University or college	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Employment	0.	1.	0.	1.	0.	0.
Forces	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.	0.
Marriage	7.	5.	7.	5.	3.	3.
Total	9.	8.	8.	7.	8.	6.

A review of the data in table 3.92, which records the subjects' apparently final move from their families of origin shows, as might be expected, that marriage, and the resultant creation of new household groups, was the main reason for leaving. Other reasons were given by only two members of the survey group, one in each of cohorts I and II, who did not return after leaving their homes of origin to seek employment. However, these two people eventually returned to the area of

their families of origin. Clearly, in this context, the community members can be fairly regarded as being in two categories, those who settled within the group of their families of origin, and those who left to marry and form new household groups. Increased economic independence of single people, during the period under examination, seems to have had very little or no effect in respect of the tendency of community members to establish their own independent households before marriage.

Comparative information concerning the offspring of the survey group members suggests that this trend has continued to the present day. However, it also indicates that in recent years females seem to have been completing this transition from membership of household of origin to founder membership of new households much earlier, or much more readily, than males. It is tempting to speculate about the cause of this. Is it the result of a relatively modern tendency for females to marry earlier than their male contemporaries, which would be the emergence of a new trend? Perhaps it is more likely to be evidence of increased difficulty experienced by young men searching for wives, caused by recent alterations in the gender balance of the population and compounded by local employment factors. Change in any one of the overlapping social groups has an effect upon the others.

Earlier this century, it was not unusual for men, following employment, to be away from the household group for long periods of time. For instance, those who were employed by the L.N.E.R. had to be geographically mobile within a limited area. The household of origin was used as a base for the survey subjects of cohorts I & II as some of them moved backwards and forwards between that base and residential employment or the forces until their final move away appeared to be when

they took their place in a new household group after marriage. The survey subjects of cohort III have been much more likely to stay in the family of origin until marriage.

Since military service can also be validly considered as employment, whether the result of conscription or voluntary enlistment, it seems appropriate to mention some of the survey subjects again in this context. Conscription, for War Service or National Service accounted for the first separation of four men and one woman in cohort I and five men of cohort II, from their family household groups. In this connection it is interesting to note that all returned to their families of origin after demobilization. Another two men and two women in cohort I and two men and one woman in cohort II also left their families of origin to serve with the armed forces. For them, it was the result of voluntary enlistment, after having been away from and returned to the family of origin.

All the men in cohort I had spent some time away from their homes of origin before marriage and all but two of the women. Two members of cohort II, one male and one female also left their families of origin for the first time as a result of marriage. As many as eleven members of cohort III, six men and five women, are either living within their families of origin or had not left before marriage. These latter findings are in keeping with their contemporaries, members of the depleted families of cohorts I and II. It is probably because of the change in employment available, reinforced by a general upward trend of resources available to the family groups, that there is a growing tendency for young people to stay in their homes of origin until they initiate a new household with either a marriage partner or other

cohabitant. It may be relevant to note that the recent rise in the practice of cohabitation before marriage is redolent of the social mores of the early part of this century, when it was quite usual for a man without a wife to have a housekeeper, whom he would be expected to marry, if she became pregnant. Such an arrangement was by no means the same as the modern idea of a trial marriage but there are obvious similarities.

Two facts are readily apparent from the material collected in connection with the foregoing section of this chapter. The first is that, in recent years, women are tending to marry at an earlier age than the men of their generation. However, more of them are staying within the family home until marriage. Secondly, young villagers seem loth to move to a new environment without some form of substitute for the kind of security or solace they clearly perceive the village community has to offer. The material security and camaraderie of residential employment seems, for a limited time at least, to go some way to fulfilling this need. There is a marked difference between the early part of life of the cohort I subjects and that of their adult children. Whereas all cohort I men had spent some time away from the family of origin before marriage, half of the male children are living within the family home or have stayed their until marriage and young women no longer need to leave the household to take up residential employment.

CONCLUSION

As in all other aspects of the community, the household groups are not static. In addition to the change engendered by the passage of time, such as increasing maturity of the young and infirmity of the old, death

and birth, they have, during the period researched, been subject to constant modification.

One of the basic characteristics of a community, its composition being a compound of social groups and local institutions which are intricately interrelated, is emphasized by a longitudinal perspective of Bellingham. Examination of household groups, using the accumulated research material, demonstrate that the result of any change is not confined to the group where it occurs. The effect of evolution within a group or extrinsic influence applied to it is inevitably transmitted throughout the local social fabric and ultimately affects the community as a whole. Nowhere, in the survey carried out in connection with this research, is the idea, that community is a dynamic social entity more apparent than in a review of the details of household groups. During the time span being investigated they have been subject to a constant stream of evolutionary modifications and extrinsically prompted changes. Many of these are in accord with national trends. For instance, in recent years there has been an obvious reduction in the birth rate and community members are now living longer than their forebears. Obvious effects of these trends are to be seen in the texture and operation of the community. For instance, the nuclear family household of today, the family of procreation stage, is likely to be subject to no or little change. Instead, the younger of two depleted families of succeeding generations, is affected when the household group of the elder generation is finally disbanded.

Another factor which has had a considerable effect has been a change in the availability of employment and in the type of employment. Much of this can be attributed, indirectly to societal development and

technological progress. For example, the social changes associated with the reconstitution of areas of society after World War II sharply increased the number of opportunities as an alternative to residential employment and the mechanization of farm work altered the character and scope of agricultural employment, when the country was trying to solve the problem of a food shortage. The obvious ways that this impinged upon the household groups, such as an improvement in the standard of living and increased security of employment were real enough. However, this kind of change had a clearly discernible effect, on the household groups within the community, in other less direct, but important ways. For example, the decline of residential work which brought young women to the area, allied to the improved health care, which affected the proportion of women in the population, have had an important effect on the marital prospects of the men of the village. In other words, this has altered the potential of the would be founders of family groups and, by implication, their eventual status within both the community and their own households.

Changes in the housing position in the community, whilst furthering the intention of providing more dwellings, have also initiated knock-on effects, the results of which are to be seen in a transformation of the household groups during the period in question. The consequences of the application of national standards and policies, for instance, in respect of both housing provision and welfare have provided more manageable homes for the elderly, and increased available resources and support services. This has not only affected the composition and work load of the household groups of other relatives, but has altered the background against which children are reared. It has increased the number of

households in the social system, which has altered the texture of the community itself.

These changes in components of village life have caused a mutation in the community which is evident from a transformation of its demographic outline. In common with other parts of the country, household groups have decreased in size, longevity has increased, and there has been an increase in economic resources available. Some of the trends that have arisen during the latter half of the time being examined do not seem to be in accord with those in other parts of the country. The increase in availability of dwellings has not included provision for economically independent single people. On the other hand, vagrants, homeless people, and acute malnutrition, are now unknown in the area. This mutation has been effected principally through the medium of household groups. They have been the epicentres of multi-directional chain reactions which have transmitted the pressures of development, outside interference, conscious decisions, good luck and misfortune throughout the whole fabric of the community. To emphasize the importance of the role of the household group is not to deny the importance of the individual. Members are, after all, vital to the quality and status of the group. They are also greatly valued by it and totally enveloped by the community.

Each survey subject appeared to have a niche within the sanctuary represented by his/her family of origin household, to which he/she returned during times of stress, for support such as aid for economic difficulties or solace during emotional pressure. Return could also be the occasion of an input to service the needs of the resident family group, such as caring for the infirm. The early part of this extended

relationship, during adolescence for example, was for the main part, a matter of staying within or retreating into the family group for moral and economic support between forays into the outside world. In general, with maturity, this kind of reinforcement and damage limitation process decreased as a sense of responsibility and commitment to the family developed. Nevertheless, at other times, it was still the place to seek reassurance and support when faced with oppressive burdens and trauma. It was then, often during a much later stage of life, that a subject returned to be cocooned whilst licking his/her wounds as he/she benefited from the comfort and assistance of his/her family of origin. There was clear evidence of this kind of familial umbrella of help and support in which aid extended between household groups, providing a unifying influence, in addition to solving practical problems.

CHAPTER FOUR

KINSHIP

INTRODUCTION

Kinship plays such a central role in the operation and fabric of the community that an appreciation of it clearly calls for an examination of its fundamental characteristics, such as composition, structures and strengths. It is also relevant, in this context, to look for and note any adjustments or realignments that have occurred in this social structure and examine the extent and nature of such changes. This chapter is also concerned with continuity, which could be regarded as the other side of the same coin, and seeks to establish the main causes and effects of both continuity and change in the kinship groups during the period in question and to assess the level of their relevance to the community system during this period.

One of the already established features of the kinship system is that an illegitimate child is taken care of within the community, usually within a mother's family of origin. Another feature is that the family of origin home of either parent continues to offer support to the more recently formed family of procreation, providing envelopment or sanctuary whenever it is required. Thus, during childhood, thirty-one per cent of the survey subjects spent at least one period within the family of origin household of one of their parents. This includes those who did so either with or without the other members of their own immediate family. Later in their lives, forty per cent of the same survey group returned for a time to their family of origin household or that of their spouse (see chapter 3). In one case a survey subject, her husband and children lived within her mother's home of origin. In most cases, they were accompanied by other members of their family of

procreation rather than alone and rejoined whoever was living in the family home at that specific time of need.

Change in the composition of a household group is particularly likely towards the end of the procreation family stage and at the depleted family stage. Bearing this in mind, in considering kinship, the extent of kin links inter-connecting groups of Bellingham households is examined rather than those connecting individuals, for the household group, at all three stages of life persists as a group for a much longer period than most individuals stay within it. Included in this assessment are the homes, both past and present, of survey subjects. In addition to this, at each stage of the survey subjects' lives, the research concentrates on the inter-dependence of related households which are and have been easily accessible to those of the survey subjects. These were, and are, pre-dominantly within the same community enclave.

To be more fully appreciated, kinship must be considered against the background which incorporates the "open door" policy which is still prevalent in Bellingham, where doors, for the main part, are only locked at night. As Anne explained, about being away all day, "Mind, if the bottles were on the step or the letters in the door, strangers would know there was no-one in." She left the money for three bags of coal on the table, for the coal man to collect when he made his delivery, and the postman, who was delivering "postal votes" for the election, was walking in and leaving them on the table. Angela made a point of delivering some "by hand" and made it clear that she did not think the former to be a satisfactory arrangement.

I judged households within easy access to be those within a five minutes' walk. In the first instance, this decision was prompted by

responses to questions directed towards my informants who were members of the group, or closely associated with it. For example they spoke of regular visits, several times each week, to shops within this distance and some of these visits obviously served a social requirement as well as an utilitarian one. In this context, a five minutes' walk could not be defined with stop watch precision. Apart from the variation in the walking paces of the individuals concerned, the geographical location of the village provides routes of widely varying character. Cyril explained, "Aye, it's var nigh (very near) gannin' doon the bank. But gannin' back up...!!" However, some form of yardstick seemed necessary. I eventually settled on this by timing the progress of a woman wheeling a pushchair, unknown to her, and using the distance she covered in five minutes as a unit of distance. When this was applied to the actual district, it seemed to a large extent irrelevant as far as the Bellingham' residents were concerned. The size of the village is such that a ten minutes' walk, measured in this way, spans little more than the distance between the two households in the community which are furthest apart, but definitely "gannin' doon".

The influence that these household connections generate and their ultimate effect on relationships are examined, as is their development and mutation in response to societal changes and evolving standards, both nationally and locally. For instance, the basic composition of the groups are dynamic because people, particularly women, are living longer than earlier this century and the women, today, in the Bellingham community, are less likely than in the past to be geographically mobile. This seems to be as a result of changing employment patterns and increased welfare provision. It is also apparent that the youngest

cohort have had more elderly relatives living nearby, at each stage of life, than cohorts I and II and, because of the decrease in family size over time, cohorts I and II are also more likely than cohort III to have siblings living, as they term it, "in by".

THE NATURE OF CONTINUITY WITHIN KINSHIP GROUPS

Current configuration of kinship groups

Twenty-five of the seventy-two survey subjects (eight members of cohort I, nine of cohort II and a further eight of cohort III), apart from, in some cases, short periods of time, such as the unavoidable demands of military service, have lived out all their lives within the community (see table 4). As well as these, another group of eleven (five subjects of cohort I, four of cohort II and two of cohort III) have spent all their lives in Bellingham since they married.

TABLE 4.

LONG STAY RESIDENTS IN THE STUDY GROUP

Time in Bellingham	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III	Total
Resident since birth	8	9	8	25
Resident since marriage	5	4	2 incomplete	11
Total	13	13	10	36

n.b. Total number of survey subjects 72.

In addition to this, with two exceptions who both spent the family of origin stage in Bellingham, the survey subjects, who have reached the

procreation stage of life, spent some of this stage there and all those who are in the depleted stage of family life are spending most of it in the village. Thus, the survey subjects can be said to have been integral members of the kinship pattern. Whilst residence from birth encompasses time spans of eighteen to eighty-nine years, for members of cohort I residence since marriage varies between forty and sixty-three years, for cohort II between eighteen and thirty-six years and for cohort III from one year to eight years. The mean number of complete years of residence, in Bellingham, for cohort I members of the survey group is fifty-two years, suggesting continuity this century.

As one of the criteria implicit in choosing the survey subjects was that they were residents of Bellingham when the field work was carried out, a study of their kinship pattern should go some way to providing an insight into it. (In this survey, kin are regarded as those sharing blood ties, affines as relations by marriage, and, relatives as a combination of both). In such a community, it seems reasonable to assume that, bearing in mind that the number of households in Bellingham is small, that the enmeshment must incorporate multiple kin, affine and more complicated connections. At such a "snapshot" time, 1988/89, the mean number of Bellingham related households for the survey subjects is 9.3. For the most part, this refers to families of relations within a five minutes' walk of a subject's home.

Continuity stretches beyond one generation and most members of the Bellingham community are in daily contact with first degree relatives, sometimes of the previous generation, sometimes of the same generation or of the succeeding one. This was clearly established during both formal and informal interviews, when more than half of the sample

questioned, explained that such contacts were part of their daily routines and one third of them, who were married, reported that they lived within a five minutes' walk of the homes of either their parents, their parents-in-law or their children.

TABLE 4.1

NUMBER OF RELATED HOUSEHOLDS 1989- ALL SURVEY SUBJECTS

ANALYSIS	First Degree Kin Households	Second Degree Kin Households	Other kin Households	Total kin Households
	Parents Siblings Children	Aunt Uncle Nephew Niece Grandparents Grandchildren		
Cohort I 24	24	23	146	193
Cohort II 24	28	16	58	102
CohortIII 24	10	19	49	78
ANALYSIS	1st Deg. Affine Households	2nd Deg. Affine Households	Other Affine Households	Total Households
Cohort I 24	18	15	75	108
Cohort II 24	14	9	40	63
CohortIII 24	8	8	39	55
ANALYSIS	1st Deg. Related Households	2nd Deg. Related Households	Other Related Households	Total Households
Cohort I 24	42	38	221	301
Cohort II 24	42	25	98	165
CohortIII 24	18	27	88	133

Cohort I 60+ yrs of age Cohort II 35 - 59 yrs Cohort III 18 - 34+ yrs

This is broadly in accord with Willmott's (1987) findings but suggests a closer contact than he recorded when he noted daily meetings between such kin "...still applies to something like one in eight of the adult population of Britain" (1987,p.21). The inference to be drawn from table 4.1, that the sense of continuity is strongly apparent among primary kin, is supported by observation within the field.

It is also apparent that secondary kin are important in Bellingham. Allan chooses to ignore "the grandparent-grandchild relationships" in his work for he says regarding them that, "...there is a paucity of data concerning adult grandchildren" (1979,p.111). However, in a small community such relationships are of great importance, especially when considering continuity in the socialization of the young. As well as this, as people are living longer, there are close ties between grandparents and their few grown-up grandchildren.

The extent of kinship

Willmott spells out that, "The most striking feature of British kinship....is its resilience, its constancy" (1987,p.22). A preliminary study in Bellingham had shown that kinship systems are so interwoven that precise relationships are hard to determine and extremely blurred (see table 4.1). The practice of calling a distant relative "cousin" and in special cases applying the same nomenclature to a life-long friend increases the likelihood of misconception. Because many groups had been settled in the area, for an often indeterminate number of years stretching back to the fourteenth century and possibly beyond, there are multiple interconnections and overlapping of kin, affine and neighbour ties are not unusual. In addition to this, single, incoming men and women are under pressure to find partners from Bellingham families.

Second generation immigrant families, tend to marry into the community, new surnames continue to appear and kinships become increasingly difficult to fathom.

Nevertheless, surnames, in the context of the Bellingham community, provide an indication of the continuing existence of kinship groups. This supposition is reinforced by two considerations. The first is that, the patrilineal bias involved in using this method will tend to compensate for misapprehensions caused by incoming families who bear the same name as other kinship groups. The second is that, the community ascribes additional identification to different kinship groups bearing the same name, or sections of the same kinship group. For instance, a person may be referred to as "one of the Armstrongs of Percy Street", although Percy Street was demolished twenty years ago.

Chamberlain (1975) in her study of "Fenwomen" found that, "Most people are related, and most surnames are duplicated many times" (P.20).

TABLE 4.2

SURNAME PATTERNS THIS CENTURY

Total number of surnames from 1891 census	152
Total number of surnames from 1931 electoral roll	144
Total number of surnames from 1989 electoral roll	235
Number of surnames on both the 1891 and 1931 lists	26
Number of surnames on both the 1891 and 1989 lists	12
Number of surnames on the 1891, 1931 and 1989 lists	36
Number of surnames on both the 1931 and 1989 lists	27
Total number of surnames involved	394

In the case of Bellingham it would be more accurate to claim this in respect of "some surnames". There were 152 different surnames in Bellingham in 1891, 144 in 1931 and, today, 235 (see table 4.2). Laslett (1983), speaking of the seventeenth century, suggested that it was rare, not common for surnames to persist in a village community over centuries or even scores of years. Yet, nine per cent of the surnames in Bellingham at the beginning of this century are found, today. Thirty-six surnames are present on all three samples regarded, those of 1891, 1931 and 1989. This suggests that in the Bellingham community, this century, surnames have persisted. Forty-two per cent of the adults, at the end of the nineteenth century, held these surnames, over forty-nine per cent in 1931 and, today, when local policy is to attract the elderly from more remote areas into the village, there are still thirty per cent.

Integration

The number of new surnames that appear on returns could give a false impression of integration for there is an ongoing pattern of community members being enveloped into the kinship system, although this could involve the demise of a surname.

TABLE 4.2 (part II).

SURNAME PATTERNS THIS CENTURY

Number of surnames recorded in the 1891 census only	78
Number of surnames on the 1931 electoral roll only	55
Number of surnames on the 1989 electoral roll only	160

The experience and subsequent actions of one of cohort I indicate the progress to village kinship integration. Dorothy came into Bellingham

with her professional husband, in the forties, and was subsequently widowed, being then the mother of two young children. She left the village for another part of the county, taking her children back to her family of origin. Three years later, they returned as a one-parent family, to run the village snack bar. Now, over forty-five years later, her married daughters and one of her grandchildren are members of separate households in Bellingham and can be said to be integrated into the kinship systems (see table 4.3). However, such integration has given rise to an even more complicated web of links for Dorothy. Today, she is linked by kinship to three other household groups. However, because of our laws regarding marriage and consanguinity, each kin household group, for the main part, has one member who is an affine (see chapter 2). On marriage, the three women became integral parts of local networks of affine households which extends the obligations between Dorothy and members of apparently unrelated households. Such connections give an extra dimension to the social system. It is a similar community to that, of which one of Chamberlain's informants said, "I get lost, trying to work out the connections" (P.63).

TABLE 4.3 INTEGRATION

Number of related households Survey subject number 321.

										Total
Family of origin Date of birth 1916	Not applicable.		Stage spent outside community							
Family of procreation Date of marriage 1938	Ist Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	0	Other kin	0	affine	0		1
Depleted family Depleted 1959	Ist Deg Kin	3	2nd Deg Kin	1	Other kin	0	affine	0		4

KEY deg degree.

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Integration is continuous for changes in dwelling ownership and tenancy are parts of ongoing community life. For example, the family of Bateys, who arrived in the village "after the First World War" to run a shop and found a business, appears to be fully integrated with roots so well established that Gladys, a grandchild of the original incomers, and her husband, who had spent the procreation stage of their lives in the Rede valley, recently retired to Bellingham, where her son's family had chosen to reside. Graham of cohort II, her brother, a third generation self-employed builder, belongs to this ever-increasing village kinship group (see table 4.4).

TABLE 4.4 INTEGRATION

Number of related households Survey subject number 032.

										Total
Family of origin Date of birth	1929	1st Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	2	Other kin	0			3
Family of procreation Date of marriage	1957	1st Deg Kin	3	2nd Deg Kin	2	Other kin	1	affine	1	7
Depleted family Depleted	1971	1st Deg Kin	5	2nd Deg Kin	3	Other kin	2	affine	1	11

The ten household blood group located in the epicentre of Bellingham is made up of four generations- Graham and his wife; his widowed mother; his eldest sister and her husband; his youngest sister, her husband and two of her grown up children; his son and wife; his two uncles and their nephew; a cousin, his wife and one grown up child; a cousin and her husband; his nephew and his wife and, finally, his niece, her husband and child. One of Graham's uncles was married to an Armstrong which vastly increases the number of inter-family household connections. In

addition, his parents-in-law retired into Bellingham. Such is not unusual. For instance, three "married-in" survey women either persuaded their elderly parent(s) and/or they chose to join the community, also.

However, the build-up of a large kinship group of distantly related households, in which kinship, affine ties and family friendships spanning several generations, becomes increasingly blurred, takes many years (see table 4.5). Chamberlain's informant said, "And there's a lot of families that are very closely intermingled..." (P.63). Bellingham's is similar. The Armstrong clan is native to the land which lies to the west and history shows the group to be an enemy of the native clans. However, there are thirty-one Armstrongs listed on the electoral roll, today, 4% of the adult population.

TABLE 4.5 INTEGRATION

Number of related households Survey subject number 004.

									Total
Family of origin Date of birth	1923	Ist Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	4	kin	20*		25
Family of procreation Date of marriage	1951	Ist Deg Kin	3	2nd Deg Kin	2	Other kin	20*	affine	2 27
Depleted family Depleted	1970	Ist Deg Kin	2	2nd Deg Kin	2	Other kin	24*	affine	2 30

KEY deg degree.
* Uncertain of exact number.

The Armstrong kinship group of which survey subject, Norman, is a member, was founded in Bellingham when Thomas Armstrong, a road contractor, who had been born in Birtley, a nearby village, in 1799, made his home in Bellingham. Norman, now retired himself, is Thomas'

great great grandchild and connected to the community members by a web of ties which are so complicated and varied as to almost defy precise definition or exposition. Descendants of Thomas of different kin generations are now of the same peer groups, branches of the family having descended at different rates. Norman knows that he has direct blood links to other Armstrong families, the Arnup, Bacon, Bolam, Brown, Carr, Clegg, Daley, Dodd, Irving, Major, Milburn, Moir, Norman, Reed, Rutherford, Scott, Sheils, Snowball, Thompson and Wright families- almost half the adult population of the village.

In addition he is linked by direct affine relationship to the Little and Thompson families, both of which trace their kin to the last century, also. From such relationships, gates are opened into a vast network of connections including the Batey, Hall, Murray, Proudlock, Ridley, Telford, Wood and Welton families. It is, as Fox found on Tory Island, that, "...groups are tied together in a web of relations of marriage and descent" (1978,P.22).

TABLE 4.6 INTEGRATION

Number of related households Survey subject number 322.

									Total
Family of origin Date of birth 1922	Not applicable.		Stage spent outside community						
Family of procreation Date of marriage 1949	1st Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	0	Other kin	0	affine	0	1
Depleted family Depleted 1971	1st Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	0	Other kin	0	affine	0	1

KEY deg degree.

In contrast to this, three members of cohort I and one member of cohort II, all categorized as professional, have no young relatives living in

the area, a circumstance which suggests that for these families the chance of integration into local kinship groups is rather remote (see table 4.6).

THE NATURE OF CHANGE WITHIN KINSHIP GROUPS

Among the adult population, the surname Armstrong appeared nine times in 1891, twenty-nine times in 1931 and appears thirty-one times today, whilst Charlton appeared twelve times in 1891, seven in 1931 and only appears in the environs, today. However, survey subject Joan's maiden name was Charlton and the branch of her family continues under the name of Horton. Thus, in keeping with other overlapping, local groups within the village social entity, the extent of those related is subject to change. However, surnames give only a sense of kinship groups. Seventy-eight surnames which were recorded at the end of the nineteenth century do not appear on either of the other lists of 1931 and today whilst twenty-six surnames which appeared on both the earlier lists were not included in the final one. Thus the representative kinship patterns of the survey subjects are very important in establishing continuity and change. A table was drawn up to show the extent of kinship, today (see table 4.6).

An examination of the table shows that the mean number of related households falls from 13.5 to 7.9 and on to 6.5 for the three cohorts I to III (see table 4.6). This historical trend of change within the kinship system correlates with the decrease in the mean number of siblings which decreased from 3.9 to 3.2 and on to 2.7 for the cohorts I, II and III. A similar pattern of declining numbers of related households is shown for both sexes and the manual and professional

occupational groups. The exception to the pattern is shown by the self-employed, the figures for which are 5.2. 8 and 5.2.

TABLE 4.6

THE MEAN NUMBER OF RELATED HOUSEHOLDS BY AGE. SEX & EMPLOYMENT-1989.

ANALYSIS HOUSEHOLDS (Correct to 1 decimal place)	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III
All Survey Subjects	13.5	7.9	6.5
Men	13.2	9.2	6.8
Women	13.9	6.6	6.3
Manual Workers	22.3	9.8	8.8
Self Employed	5.2	8	5.2
Professional	4.5	4	3.5

Again and again, explanations of various patterns have their origin in housing, employment practices and welfare provision. The out-of-step number for cohort I could be explained by the late marriages of this group. Tilly & Scott found that, "The practice of delaying marriage until a couple had access to resources continued most strongly in situations where parents had property which children waited to inherit" (1978,p.93). The self-employed, during the early half of this century tended to remain unmarried until they inherited the family business or farm, their fathers reached pension age, or their mothers became unable to cope with housekeeping. Thus, they were more likely to have more first degree kin living within the household group, even after marriage, and less likely to have many legitimate children. As well as this, the

last of many long lines of craftsmen, who were self-employed, ceased to trade in the forties and fifties.

Whilst the direction of change regarding kinship is the same for manual and professional workers, the extent of the change is very different. Reference to the collected data indicates two main reasons for this. The first is the relative sizes of families. In general, those subjects who are manual workers have more siblings than the self-employed and the members of the professional category have the smallest number. Therefore the size of the related household groups can be seen to be directly related to the sizes of the immediate families of which they are or have been members. The other probable cause of the variation of group size is connected more directly with the nature and concomitant opportunities of the types of employment. The proportion of employment opportunities for manual workers, especially those who are unskilled and semi-skilled, in a community of the size of Bellingham, is much larger than that for members of the other two categories, offering more flexibility for those who wish to remain resident there. Because of this, their kin groups are likely to be local, too.

As far as most professional employment is concerned, local people are less likely to be able to influence who is given a post, for professionals, who tend to be geographically mobile, are employed, for the most part, by county, national or international organizations. However, it is shown, in every cohort, that the Bellingham manual workers are parts of larger related groups of households than the self employed, who are, in turn members of larger groups than those categorized as professionals.

It became clear that the progressive decrease in the number of

children in families over this century has had an accumulative effect. It has affected not only the number of first degree related households, but eventually the number of most second degree kin households- those of grand children, aunts, uncles, nephews and nieces. However, longevity is beginning to influence the number of second degree kin and several of cohort III have grandparents living in other households. As might be readily assumed from table 4.7, cohort III have fewer first or second degree kin of their own generation.

TABLE 4.7

KIN & AFFINE LINKS TO OTHER HOUSEHOLDS

ANALYSIS	First Degree Kin				Second Degree Kin					Other Kin
	Mother or Father	Siblings	Child		Aunt Uncle	Nephew Niece	Grand-child	Grand-parent		
Cohort I	1	10	13	24	6	16	1		23	146
CohortII	7	14	7	28	10	6	-		16	58
C III	7	3	-	10	10	1	-	6gm2gf	19	49
	First Degree Affines				Second Degree Affines					
Cohort I	1	14	+3	18	6	9	-	-	15	75
CohortII	5	7	2	14	6	2	-	1	9	40
C III	7	1	-	8	4	1	-	2gm1gf	8	39
Total	First Degree Relatives				Second Degree Relatives					
Cohort I	2	24	16	42	12	25	1		38	221
CohortII	12	21	9	42	16	8	-	1	25	98
C III	14	4	-	18	14	2	-	8gm3gf	27	88

Key- gm- grandmother gf- grandfather

CHAPTER 4 - KINSHIP

FACTORS AFFECTING BELLINGHAM KINSHIP GROUPS

Alterations in any part of the local way of life have an effect on the others. Patterns of surnames within the community are clues to socially significant factors regarding kinship, such as changing employment and settlement patterns, housing, welfare provision and national development policies.

Employment & Settlement Patterns

Farms, estates and the railway brought new blood into the area at the beginning of this century, the hostels for displaced persons at the end of World War II and the army camp, Forestry Commission and dam construction more recently. Belilios, Chruszczewski, Crozier, Blankenburgs and Gandham, names of villagers currently on the register of electors, are vestigial surface clues to wider relationships and integration brought about by such factors. The construction of most council houses, to serve the district, in the village from the forties onwards has influenced settlement patterns. In addition, the present system of building all the homes for the elderly, to serve the North Tyne and Rede valleys, in Bellingham, is creating some problems.

Mingay's (1990) comment that, "We know from modern instances that the decisions, sometimes eccentric, of an individual or of government, may bring about changes which would otherwise be inexplicable...", applies to the area, too (P.1). The consequences of building the forestry villages in remote areas and attracting city dwellers to live in the country, during a time of acute housing shortage after the Second World War, have to be faced, today. The kinship groups of these incomers are truncated and they lack the wide kin connections, throughout the district, which provide support for other elderly people who have been

uprooted from their home communities.

Housing

In a social system such as Bellingham's, change in any part causes a chain reaction which affects the whole community structure. Thus, continuous availability of housing and employment have been of great importance in the development of the community and its ongoing kinship system. The number of houses increased from a stock of 189 pre Second World War to 348 today and is still rising, whilst employment of some kind seems always to be available to those who are part of the overlapping groups.

Effects of increased independence of the elderly

An important effect of housing development in Bellingham is that, during the period being examined, kinship groups have declined in size historically but from a biographical point of view they have increased. This is not as paradoxical as it might, at first sight, appear to be. A demographic perspective of this particular facet of the community demonstrates that these trends correspond with a transformation of the configuration of the kinship groups rather than being symptomatic of a radical new direction of development. For example, there have been changes in the size of households, greater longevity, an increase in availability of housing and new levels of economic independence. For the most part the opposing trends are the palpable result of country-wide social trends, improvements in life chances, living conditions and the resultant changes in standards and norms. The same improvements in welfare standards which spawned more widely available family planning clinics was associated with an increase in the application of preventive medicine such as public health measures, the development of free general

medical care and the improvement in the economic circumstances of the old and infirm. The consequent tendency towards a decrease in family size suggested a decrease in the kinship group from a historical perspective. However, the same round of improvements led to a general increase in longevity and this, bolstered by more financial support for the old and an increase in housing provision produced an increase in the number of elderly people living in independent households. Therefore nuclear household groups which have decreased in size have kin connections with a larger number of other households than their predecessors.

The increase in the stock of housing in Bellingham since the Second World War has, in itself proved to be an important factor in this context. Currently, fifty-seven per cent of the houses in Bellingham provide homes for either one or two adults only (see chapter 3). Nowadays it is usual for newly married couples to set up their first home in their own independent households. The elderly, now, tend to live in their own accommodation, much of it specially provided so that the time they are able to live on their own has been extended. For instance, six have their individual rooms with their own furniture and possessions in an "Abbey Home" and, whilst completing the survey, three women, including one survey subject's parent, moved into a small nursing home. Such is change, that, at the time of writing, it has closed. Others live in "The Sheiling", a complex of individual ground-level flats with a resident warden. A parent of three survey subjects, a grandmother of two others, an aunt of another, and a great aunt of two others are living or have lived there. Five other pensioners live in ground floor council owned flats in the town centre, whilst ten newly constructed two bedroom

bungalows are being let to pensioners, including one survey subject, at the current time. In addition, the Duke of Northumberland has shown a preference to let a short row of converted cottages to his older tenants or their widows, including five survey subjects.

Belonging

The community continues to include in its network those members who are residing away from Bellingham. It is only through belonging to such a system that Teddy, Bobby, Joan and Dorothy of cohort I, and Alan and Hazel of cohort II were able to return there with the other members of their families of procreation, and Joe with his wife at the depleted family stage of life, to become self-employed, in businesses which included housing (see chapter 3). Similarly, during the procreation stage with their immediate families, Selwyn of cohort I, Willie and Bill of cohort II, and Johny, Catherine and Anne Marie of cohort III, and Johny and Theresa at the depleted family stage, returned to live in Bellingham houses. In keeping with there always being a place kept within the family of origin and kin make a place for relatives, Goodwin and John of cohort I, Kathleen (with her immediate family) and Joan (accompanied by her children) of cohort II and Tony of cohort III, during the second stage of their lives, returned, in the first instance, to live with relatives.

Secondary effects of increased welfare provision

The general direction of social development, during the period being examined, has also had other more indirect effects on kinship groups. One of the more obvious channels through which this has been applied concerns employment patterns. An overall improvement in the economic situation of members of the community, a product of a general

increase in disposable income and the comparatively lower prices of recent years has made personal transport a viable option for community members. This, when allied to a sizable reduction in the working week and road improvements, allows them to commute over a much longer distances than would formerly have been possible. Community members, therefore, are more liable to live within the kinship group. A similar effect, though on a much smaller scale, is due to the introduction of welfare benefits during the latter part of the period being examined. This has reduced the prospect of immediate severe economic stress being associated with even short periods of unemployment and it has enabled community members to have a little more choice when changing jobs or seeking employment.

These changes in the level of expectations and level of prosperity, which were largely the result of reforms instituted at national level owe much of their marked effect, in the immediate locality of the village to the members' powerful motivation to reside within the geographical vicinity of the community or return to it, even after prolonged absence. It is clear that this springs from a potent sense of belonging, which is associated with basic concepts such as self image, since villagers regard community membership as an integral part of their personal identity. With some pride, most claim "to belong Bellingham" and Rene explained, "Whey y' know y' a home when y' turn White Wall Nook corner". It is then that Bellingham is seen lying in the valley.

CHANGES OVER BIOGRAPHICAL TIME

Increase in co-residence

Willmott comments, "If one looks at the national picture since the

1950s, the evidence on co-residence does suggest a decline in the role of relatives" (1987,p.17). Nevertheless, interviews suggest that co-residence of near relatives, in Bellingham, has increased over biographical time. Therefore changing patterns are examined, not only over historical time, but also over biographical time (see table 4.8).

DEMOGRAPHIC OUTLINE OF TRENDS -Kinship & Affine Households

(Table 4.8). Mean number of households (Correct to 1 dec place).

BIOGRAPHICAL / HISTORICAL ANALYSIS ALL SURVEY SUBJECTS	RELATED HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
	Origin	7	6.3	4.8
	Procreation	12	7.4	5.5
	Depleted	15	9.1	-

KEY * Historical sequence showing decrease of mean number of related households nearby from cohort I to cohort II and on to cohort III.
* Biographical sequence showing increase of mean number of related households nearby from cohort I to cohort II and on to cohort III.

The horizontal sequence of figures for cohort I, followed by those of cohort II and cohort III gives a picture of change over historical time. However, translating the findings into a two-dimensional form shows, in addition, the biographical changing kinship patterns. The chart portrays that there is a definite pattern of related households showing a marked decline in the number of related households within walking distance, over historical time. Conversely, there is a marked increase in the number of related households over biographical time. This is shown in a vertical sequence and depicts how it has strengthened.

Patrilineal bias earlier this century

Research material shows gender differences (see table 4.9). Whilst conforming to the general pattern, that for women of cohorts II and III shows that they are related to far fewer households than the men. In addition to this, only one of the survey women of cohort I, and none of cohorts II and III, were connected to a large group of related households during the first stage of their lives, suggesting that the kinship groups, in Bellingham, were patrilineal during the first half of this century and that the women were "married in".

(Table 4.9).

COMPARISON IN NUMBER OF RELATED HOUSEHOLDS - MEN & WOMEN

(correct to 1 dec. place)

BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

MEN			
RELATED HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Origin	8.4	9.3	6
Procreation	11	9.4	5.4#
Depleted	14.1	12	-

WOMEN			
RELATED HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Origin	5.8	3.2	3.6
Procreation	13.3	5.6	5.6#
Depleted	16.1	7.4	

KEY # Only some of this group have reached this stage in life.

The composition of the groups of related households and its implications

Caring is a major part of work in a community. Willmott (1987) has found, that, "...relatives continue to be the main source of informal support and care" and the Griffith's report has recommended that,

"...the role of the informal carer is appropriately supported" (1988,p.vi). It is, therefore, important to look at the composition of the total related group of households as this could influence how work, in its widest sense, is shared and could indicate how much more help should be provided by the state.

DEMOGRAPHIC OUTLINE OF TRENDS- Kinship & Affine Households

Table 4.91 Mean number of households (Correct to 1 dec place)

BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	MEN		
KIN HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Origin	8.4	9.3	6
Procreation	9.3	5.8	2.6
Depleted	11.1	5.6	n/a
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	**MEN**		
AFFINE HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Procreation	1.6	3.6	2.8
Depleted	3	6.4	n/a
BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	**WOMEN**		
KIN HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Origin	5.8	3.2	3. 6
Procreation	6.5	4.6	4.4
Depleted	8.7	5.1	n/a
HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	**WOMEN**		
AFFINE HOUSEHOLDS	cI	cII	cIII
Procreation	6.8	1	1.2
Depleted	7.4	2.3	-

CHAPTER 4 - KINSHIP

Kin and affines

The findings suggest that the survey subjects, in the middle and later stages of life, are parts of related systems in which the number of kin households is greater than the number of affine ones (see table 4.91). However, the kinship and affine household figures of the men go some way to suggesting a marriage pattern (See table 4.91). The gap between the number of kin and affine households is great for the men of cohort I and less for the men of cohorts II and III, suggesting that the men of cohort I were the most likely to marry outsiders. As well as this, the affine pattern displayed shows an increase over historical time. The figures for cohort I women confirm the pattern. The women of cohort I are related to many more affine households than cohort I men whilst the women of cohorts II and III belong to a larger number of kin household groups than affine ones. Willmott makes the assumption that, "...it seems likely that in the past, as we and others found in the 1950s, there was a tendency for couples to live nearer to the wife's parents than the husbands" (1987,P.7). My survey shows the opposite. Whilst the system today seems to be moving towards a matrilineal one, it was markedly patrilineal before World War II.

Change in size & make up of groups

It is not surprising that cohort II's survey subjects belong to larger groups of related households in the depleted stage than the procreation one. Retirement and longevity have affected the balance. Two men of cohort I began the depleted stage outside Bellingham, living in one household kinship groups and chose to return to, in one case his place of birth, and, in the other, his wife's. As well as these, the sister of one member of cohort I retired to Bellingham with her husband.

Table 4.92 FIRST DEGREE KIN

Stage of life	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III
Origin	0.9	1	1
Procreation	2.2	2	1.7
Depleted	2.1	2.4	-

Similarly two members of cohort II each have a sister who has returned with their husbands on retirement. However far from "sitting in the stoop in the sun" (see chapter 2), the newly returned have been enveloped into the community once more. Regarding the gender figures, the women have had marginally more first degree kin in the procreation stage and the men marginally more first degree kin through-out their lives.

Second Degree Kin

The easiest way to understand the term second degree kin during the family of origin stage is that they are parents' first degree kin (apart from their children). In a community where the influence of the previous generation could play a crucial part in life, it is worth looking in detail at the number of grandparents (2nd degree kin) the survey subjects had, living nearby, in childhood. Regarding other second degree kin living nearby during the household of origin stage, the mean number of households for cohort I (aunts & uncles) is 1.25. Allan dismisses secondary kin from his study, stating that they, "...are of comparatively little importance in pattern's of sociability" (1979,p.111). However, Mingay (1990) points out that,"... the history

of each individual hamlet, village or country town has a strong element of the unique" and that "awareness of (the diversity) will temper any observations and attempts at generalizations (P.X). It is not unusual, during this era, for elderly people to outlive their children, as in the case of Isa, making the other ties more important. The childless aunts and uncles must also have care.

Table 4.93 SECOND DEGREE KIN (Mean number).

Stage of life	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III
Origin	2	1.6	1.4
Procreation	0.7	1	0.5
Depleted	1	0.9	-

With regard to second degree kin, some significant figures are shown over time. During the survey subjects' procreation stage, none of cohort I's grandparents were still living, of cohort II three still had a grandmother/in-law and whilst only one of cohort III with children has a maternal grandmother nearby, one other married survey subject has also a maternal grandmother and another survey subject both maternal grandparents. Here, among the survey subjects in Bellingham, there are heads of households of descending kin groups extending to three living generations, showing four generations of family descent. The potential "long-term involvement" of family of origin in a newly set-up family of procreation not found by Parsons (1956, P.300), is apparent.

Other kin households

Finally, the mean number of other kin households was regarded and

again it was found that members of cohort I were related to the largest groups of households. Survey subjects mentioned distant relationships such as the grandchildren of "granny's cousin". A web of complicated relationships connect many of the older survey subjects to most of the others who have their roots in Bellingham.

Table 4.94 OTHER KIN HOUSEHOLDS (Mean number).

Stage of life	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III
Origin	4	3.7	2.4
Procreation	5.2	2.1	1.3*
Depleted	6.9	2.1	-

KEY * not complete

Thus, there has been a move over time from a young person being surrounded by aunts, uncles and cousins to, today, when a young person, such as Michael, has no aunts, uncles or cousins nearby but has several older relatives living within the vicinity (see table 4.95). He lives within his family of origin with his parents, his great aunt lives next door, his grandmother two doors away and two elderly more distant relatives reside in the same street.

TABLE 4.95

AN EXAMPLE OF CHANGING KINSHIP PATTERNS BETWEEN SUCCESSIVE GENERATIONS

Father Date of birth 1924	Ist Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	7	Other kin	21	Total	29
Son Michael Date of birth 1962	Ist Deg Kin	1	2nd Deg Kin	1	Other kin	26	Total	28

Networks

One other fact is worthy of mention regarding people living nearby. Three survey subjects, whose first marriages had been dissolved, were living within a five minutes' walk of their former homes of procreation or the newly established former spouses' homes. In such a community, neighbourhood interaction, childhood relationships, courtships and marriage ties are, for the most part, carried forward through-out life.

The criss-crossing of relationships is such that a common knowledge exists and pressure is brought to bear at key times in life. This is particularly affective when courtships are being monitored. Relationships are so intertwined that blood ties may be closer than overt ties would suggest. Isa asks me, "...not to let the skeletons out of the cupboard". Those skeletons that are well hidden are passed on at funeral teas. Information about questionable paternity is of foremost importance.

CONCLUSION

Writers differ about the importance of kinship. Bott says that, "Kinship does not play a very important part in industrialized societies" (1957,p.119.), whilst Fox says that family and kinship are "about the basic facts of life". They are about, "...birth, copulation and death" (1967,P.27). The survey shows it to be an important facet of community life. Here, the demographic facts that men used to have a longer life expectancy than women and that, today, women are living longer are shown. The surname patterns depict, over the century, and the kin and affine relationships show, that genealogies tended to be patrilineal until beyond the middle of this century. This patrilineal

system, in which the men were much more likely than the women to have their parents living "in by", dominated. This has changed with increased longevity among women and the lessening need for girls to take employment away from home to a system which shows a movement towards a matrilineal one.

An extra dimension is apparent in the Bellingham community, which is dependent upon the long term continuation of many of its kinship groups. The majority of residents belong to kinship and affine groups whose local connections are already well established. However, each new affine represents a connection with another group. His/her new status as a member of both groups serves as a link between them. In this way a former outsider, such as Dorothy, can be incorporated into the fabric of the elaborate network of community relationships, to which attention must be paid during the course of any decision making process, or assessment of personal code of conduct.

A definite pattern of related households has been found in which there has been a marked decline in the number of related households within walking distance, over historical time, and conversely, a marked increase in the number of related households over biographical time. The number of related households within walking distance of each other, remains high. The bonds uniting local kinship, affine and connecting groups have continued to strengthen throughout this century. However, the main bonding strength of mutual dependence has changed from a lateral connection of kin households across each generation to a vertical adhesion between parents, children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, together with a continuing lateral connection between households of contemporaries, and a vertical connection between

households with children and depleted households.

Most of the villagers, today, are members of kinship groups which are composed of living relatives representing four and, in some cases, five generations. However, the memories of individual members, reinforced by the recent oral local history acknowledged within the community, extends their familiarity and acknowledged family links. This inclusion of deceased family members, by contemporaries who knew them, virtually increases the known kinship group to seven or eight generations. These genealogies tend to be unilineal and village orientated. The recollections of older members are important in this respect but it is also clear that this knowledge is incorporated into the sense of belonging which is a significant part of the personal identity of each community member and of his/her self-concept.

The appearance and disappearance of surnames confirms the fluid state of the community membership, which is important. Its changing membership fulfils important functions, which are beyond the scope of the somewhat more significant enduring faction of kinship groups. For example, the turnover in membership serves to further develop and maintain connections within the surrounding area. It provides a channel for the introduction and acceptance of new concepts and attitudes from further afield, thus stimulating the evolutionary tendency of the community, which is one of its more valuable characteristics. Thirty per cent of the present village population bear surnames which were current there at the beginning of the period being examined. There is obviously a persisting core of kinship groups which acts as an ongoing repository for community standards, values and knowledge, providing a frame of reference which greatly reinforces the continuity of the community.

The importance of kinship, however, has been such that the influences of these groups are encountered during an examination of virtually any facet of community life as it has existed in Bellingham during the period being researched. For example, in the succeeding chapter, which focusses specifically on care within the community, they continue to provide a significant input, even though some resources once provided by roles assumed as part of kinship obligations are now, supplied by nationally ordained welfare provision.

CHAPTER FIVE

CARING

INTRODUCTION

Change, which is vital to the survival of a community and an integral part of its development, is also evident in the matter of caring. Discussion of kinship groups, in the previous chapter, and the outlines of mutual support which is a fundamental part of their operation, obviously touches on the subject of care. This chapter, however, is also concerned with care prompted by connections to people outside these groups. It sets out to examine the care between household groups, the accepted duties of members of an enclave and the obligations, in this area, which are implicit in community membership. It is sought to establish that one of the cohesive factors of the community is a system of care.

In order to fully appreciate the nature of development in this area, it is necessary to note the major sources of external influence. In this regard, particular attention is paid to the considerable improvement in formal provision which was engendered by the institution of the N.H.S. and the effects of subsequent developments spawned by the "Welfare State" which it sought to establish. One of the crucial issues considered is the ultimate effect of this kind of provision, such as the consequences of increased longevity, and changes in the demand for community care. To what extent has formal provision superseded community generated informal care? Has its introduction affected the villagers' perception of the importance of the community or freed resources to be used for increased benefits in other areas, perhaps allowing a more comprehensive approach to caring than had formerly been possible?

CHAPTER 5 - CARING

What is Caring?

As Farmer & Miller (1983) point out:-

> One of the characteristics of human societies is that they accept responsibility for the care of individual members who, through no fault of their own, are unable to care and provide for themselves. In general, these are the elderly, the poor, and the disabled". (p.182).

They explain that, "the most basic expression of this obligation" is by "the extended family" including "others who identify with the family".

For the main part, children are unable to care for themselves unaided and, since as Parsons (1956,p.5) suggests, the most important function of the family could be "...its contribution to the socialization of children", child care and the envelope of security which it provides, reaching back to child birth must surely be an aspect of care worthy of special consideration. Thus, under consideration are

the changing formal and informal care of:-
children, the poor, the elderly and the disabled during this century.

The extent of considerations

It is necessary to examine caring in the context of the community as a whole, rather than using any one particular aspect as the sole focus of attention, in order to appreciate its true significance within the social structure. Care extends across the activities of sectors such as household units, kinship groups and neighbourhood enclaves. Just, as Brannen & Wilson point out, "...the household unit cannot be treated in isolation from the rest of society" (1987,p.1/2), so no one particular facet of the community provides a fully representative picture nor is it possible to isolate caring from other aspects of community activity. The divisions between caring and other forms of internally generated community work are often blurred since their precise delineation tends

to respond to changing needs and varying resources, in an opportunistic manner.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FORMAL CARE PROVISION IN BELLINGHAM

Provision from the beginning of the century until the Second World War

The Local Government Act of 1894 had heralded the reform of the Poor Law structure and the newly created Bellingham Rural Parish Council had taken over the duties of the Rural Sanitary District of Bellingham. As national concern had grown at the end of the nineteenth century, implementation of measures to prevent ill health had taken place. The area had its own sewage farm at the mill, pure water supplies collected in local reservoirs and responsibility for street cleaning had been undertaken. Such new duties also included responsibility for ensuring healthy conditions in housing. Money was accrued by the Council from a compulsory rate on land and houses. This was supplemented by donations towards the care of the poor.

Care of the poor

At the beginning of the century, with the exception of those few who were, "On the Parish", household groups had to pay rent and rates as well as providing for all other needs such as doctor's bills, food, clothes, heating and light. Alternatively, they received all or some of these as part of wages. The very little formal societal care provision, available, and given or accepted by few, was regarded as charity and brought with it stigmatization. Nationally, the basis of this depended upon measures taken to deal with poverty. These included the control of vagrants. The impotent poor were given necessary relief whilst the able-bodied were found work. Such measures were rooted in the provision which

had evolved from 1390 onwards.

A demographic outline of Bellingham, in 1901, shows that it had a district work house which incorporated a "stone breaking" yard and mortuary, with Mr. Hoey its "Master" and Mr. Telfer as assistant overseer, clerk to the Parish Council and clerk to the burial board. Mr. R. E. Riddle, a road surveyor, and Mr. Thomas Aynesley, a grocer, were also inspectors of nuisances to the Rural District Council. The Government Act of 1929 transferred the functions of Poor Law Unions & Guardians to the County Councils. The need for a work house gradually decreased over time but it remained in use until 1934, when the few remaining inmates were transferred to Haltwhistle. However, this was a time of severe unemployment nationally and some of the unemployed, as well as tramps seeking seasonal work in Scotland, continued to break their journey in Bellingham. Very often they sought shelter in the hay sheds and the gasworks, in which some of them had preferred to stay in the past.

Fraser (1976) points out that the Guardians interpreting the Poor Law, although they were expressly forbidden to do so, would give relief to able-bodied men who were unemployed because of rural work's seasonal nature. He establishes that the Guardians, who were often local employers, were attending to their own interests as well as caring for the unemployed. As might, therefore, be expected, the clerk to the Guardians and Assessment Board was one of the local employers, Mr. R. Riddle of Blakelaw Farm. However, few men sought "Parish Relief" for, as McBriar (1987) points out, "Provisions were also made to force parents, children and even grandparents to support their poor relations" (p.35). In the 1891 census only two men in the village were labelled as paupers

and, therefore, recipients of such relief. They were both categorized as agricultural labourers. One, a married man was seventy-three years old, and the other, a bachelor was sixty eight. At that time, there were thirty-seven inmates of the work house of whom ten, including five children, were Bellingham born.

Among the recently admitted inmates, then, were a widow and her three children. They had been rendered homeless by the death of her husband. He had been a miner and the family had occupied a tied cottage. Since this had been regarded as one of the "perks" of his job, the facility was automatically withdrawn when he died. Such evictions occurred routinely in the vicinity due to the demise, infirmity or dismissal of the men and women who occupied such dwellings, as a consequence of their employment on the railway, or at one of the small coal mines, quarries, estates and farms which dotted the area. When Rene's father died in the thirties, the family moved into the house with the cheapest rent they could find. Rene explained, "... 'n if w' weren't up wi' the rent by twelve o' clock on the saturday owld Michael John was doon t' git it himsel'."

Availability of medical aid

Bellingham was the centre for the practices of two general practitioners, at the turn of the century, but payment had to be made for visits. Isa says of life, then, "The doctor wasn't called very often. It was half a croon a visit an' half a croon a bottle of medicine." Dr John Elliot was a district surgeon and medical officer as well as being public vaccinator and medical officer of health to the Bellingham Rural District Council. One of his duties was to monitor infectious diseases in the area and villagers were obligated to inform

him of these. Whooping cough and pneumonia, particularly during the first year of life, were regarded as particularly dangerous before the fifties. Isa also informed me that "Consumption was rife in Bellingham when A was a lass."

The seasonality of infectious diseases referred to by Farmer & Miller (1983) was evident in Bellingham. The influx of ten thousand people on "Show day" each September heralded the regular outbreaks of measles, German measles, chicken pox, mumps, diphtheria, and scarlet fever, in October and November. Recognition that children are the most susceptible to these kinds of diseases did result in free preventative medicine in schools during epidemics. Entries for November, 1935, in the school log read:-

November 8th, 1935. Serious outbreak of Diphtheria. Attendance 46/69.
November 11th, 1935. No attendances to be recorded afternoon. Inoculation against diphtheria.
November 22nd, 1935. 47.3% weekly average.

The most severe epidemics recorded in the area were of scarlet fever in 1934 and diphtheria in 1935. They affected most of cohort I and some of cohort II. Willie and one of his sisters had diphtheria. Another sister was immunised. His brother, who had been in hospital with a broken leg, was sent home during this period and contracted the disease. The doctor's bill for their treatment was for five guineas, more than two weeks' wages.

Vaccination against smallpox was taken seriously. At the turn of the century, Thomas Aynesley, who was a self employed grocer and registrar of births & deaths, was also the vaccination officer to the Rural District Council. Despite compulsory vaccination, Jim's uncle contracted smallpox. He recovered but his face was heavily pock marked.

CHAPTER 5 - CARING

Dr James Miller, one of the general practitioners in the district, was employed as surgeon to Plashetts colliery. This was some twelve miles distant, and accessible only by train followed by a two and a half mile horse back ride or walk. There were changes in ownership of practices but, by the thirties, Dr. Kirk's practice, with a qualified assistant and a dispenser, was firmly established.

On occasions, when a doctor thought that home nursing was unsuitable, a private nursing home in Hexham was recommended or a "live-in" private nurse was employed. Few could afford such treatment and only those survey subjects whose fathers were members of the professions or owned their own businesses benefited. Isa said, "We didn't get no nursin'. There wouldn't be a district nurse here, then. Y' own folks just did the nursin'. An' we relied on neighbours." However, advice was available from the monthly nurse and an elderly retired military nurse, Nurse Armstrong. Isa recalled that she was "gettin' on a bit" but that she acted as midwife when three survey subjects of cohort II were born. Traditionally untrained local women had performed this task. Although the Midwives Act of 1902 prohibited untrained women from practising midwifery, it was not until the 1936 Midwives Act that local authorities were made responsible for ensuring that there were plenty of midwives for the needs of the community. In addition, The Maternity and Child Welfare Act of 1918 obliged local authorities to provide a medical service for expectant mothers, nursing mothers and children under five years of age.

In general, severely limited disposable income rendered professional medical aid beyond the means of community members. Household groups resorted to very basic medicine collections such as, ".... a castor oil

bottle, syrup of figs, bandages and things like that", which they occasionally supplemented by purchases from Mrs Smith, who had a fancy repository and was a patent medicine vendor. General dealers continued with all such trade until a chemist's shop was opened in the early thirties. The new pharmacist was soon used as a fund of medical advice, as well as a source of medicaments. His accepted role and that of his wife were extended. They gave free minor treatment, such as removing bee stings and splinters, treating warts and sprains and, on occasions, putting on liniments and bandages which had been purchased from their shop and, "... iverybody went t' Cordiner fo' a bottle, if th' warnt ower weel."

However, the doctor was called when there was a life threatening emergency. Isa explained:-

It was Dr. Kirk. He said to me mother he could save me but not the bairn. A was hard up! For a six month! A hed puerperal feva an' so hed the schoolmaster's wife an' Mrs Broon. A was the only one t' live. Mind A was poorly for a lang time efter.

Billy described the need for a five shillings' visit in the thirties:-

Raphie Stevenson and me...we were catchin' bumblers and we thought it would be a great idea to knock the bottoms out of these bottles an' make a tunnel f' them. A just knelt doon...niva thinkin'...on a bit o' glass an' slit me knee right open. A hed t' get the doctor an' the nurse in and hev clips in, it...

Pensions

It is difficult to imagine life without state monetary provision for the old, the infirm and the destitute but the first national pension, an old age pension of five shillings per week, was not introduced until 1909. Few were eligible even for consideration. This pension was for men of seventy years or more and was means tested. There were only seventeen of this age listed on the Bellingham 1891 census and, of these, seven

had their own businesses. However, manipulation of the system soon occurred, and businessmen began to transfer their businesses to their sons on their own seventieth birthday. In addition, after the outbreak of World War I, some women had multiple pensions as a result of the deaths of sons and husbands during the conflict and they thus gained a measure of financial security previously unknown to women of their group. Widows and orphans' pensions were recognized as meagre, too small to provide for the total needs of families.

Care of children

Village education had been firmly established to suit the locality much earlier than the law demanded. Bequests were made in 1730, to build an endowed school. This was followed by the establishment of a Roman Catholic one, in 1834. Despite the Education Act of 1870, elementary education, largely because of exemptions and anomalies, was not compulsory until 1880. To cater for the extra pupils, a one hundred per cent increase, a council school was opened and Thomas Aynesley's range of civic appointments was extended to cover the post of attendance officer or " whipper in", as the post was termed locally, indicating, not only how some families still resisted full-time education but the measures taken to enforce the law. The Factory & Workshop Act of 1878 had raised the minimum age for employment to ten and required that those under fourteen should work only half a normal working day. This half time exemption continued until the twenties and allowed some children, who had reached the required standards, to leave school up to two years before the official minimum school leaving age. Childhood ended abruptly for some of cohort I. Marget was 'at place' at twelve and Isa explained how she left school:-

A was thirteen. A was in class seven and A'd been a good attender an' A'd niva been off school in al' them years. An' Jack Hall, the whipper in, he got me motha t' fill in a form and he came wi' the police t' the Shaw school an' A niva went back. Mind there was nee play after that.

However, local needs were catered for and courses to suit individual' expectations had been developed. For instance the father of one survey subject left school at fifteen years of age, in 1905, after completing an accountancy and book keeping course. Two of his contemporaries, Bobby's father and uncle, having then reached the appropriate admission age, went on to a residential Public School. During this period one child won a scholarship to Hexham Grammar School and this seemed to generate interest in secondary education. However this applied to only a small minority. During the second decade of the century, only four Bellingham children, at the age of thirteen, were admitted to the Hexham Grammar School. One won a scholarship and the others were enrolled by their parents. Subsequently, free scholarships were available, offered at eleven by the local education authority, but acceptance was limited to those family groups, who could afford to manage without the children's wages until they were sixteen.

Another important aspect of child welfare concerned illegitimate children. Laslett (1968) comments on the fact that there were appreciable numbers of illegitimate children in England during the whole of the period for which figures can be recovered and Laslett et al (1980) further explain that, for any area, "...a flow of migration in or out is likely to affect bastardy" (P.56). A study of employment patterns and household groups in the Bellingham district suggests that men were more likely to be geographically mobile at the beginning of the century than they are today. Because of poor transport facilities, many

slept for days, weeks and months away from their homes. For instance, Marget's father lodged at the quarry houses twelve miles cross country from Bellingham and walked back occasionally on a Sunday. Thus, before the availability of legal abortions and family planning clinics, the local illegitimacy rate was high, and in twenty-two per cent of the 1891 households a complete picture of the kinship group could not be obtained without access to "community intelligence".

At the beginning of the century, the mortality rate at childbirth was high, also. Orphans with no relatives were given places in the work house and those under two years of age, whose mothers had died, were boarded with wet nurses. Unmarried mothers who sought help from "the Court" were met with sympathetic understanding (see chapter 3).

CHANGING ATTITUDES

Questioned about the items which absorbed most of the family income during their childhood, most people unhesitantly answered "food". In the Reeds' school log book of the thirties it was recorded that two children were suffering from malnutrition. From the beginning of the century until the advent of the Second World War for a few families there was a small improvement in the level of financial security and some improvement in formal welfare provision. This improvement in family circumstances was not in the form of gradual systematic progress but had its origin in changes in employment patterns and welfare benefits. For instance, during the time industry was rebuilding after World War I, large attendance bonuses were offered to the local miners, providing them with what was virtually a guaranteed reasonable minimum wage. Lloyd George's National Health Insurance Act of 1911 became law and working

men (but not wives, children or the retired) whose income was below a specified minimum were entitled to "a free doctor" and sickness benefit, known as "The Lloyd George". A minority of employers also provided limited medical care. Doris recalled the circumstances of her husband's family or origin, saying, "Mind they hed a free docta. Th' quarry paid f' that. He used t' cal 't ivery hoose when he came ower."

Dental health received scant attention until it occasioned the rejection of volunteers for World War I. Isa's eldest brother had been one of these, but as the recruitment drive intensified in 1917, attitudes changed. She explained, "They w' determined he'd hev t' gan. He hed al' his teeth pulled oot f' nowt". From the twenties, a Newcastle dentist held a fortnightly surgery, on a thursday afternoon, in his aunt's front room in Percy Terrace. Few people could afford to "buy" this treatment either. Billy told how he had to pay for the doctor and dentist when he was "chloroformed" on his aunt's kitchen table and had his "teeth oot in twice" (half in each of two treatment sessions).

There were few signs of a change in community attitudes to formal care during these years. Much of it continued to be regarded as charitable assistance and stigmatized the recipients, despite changes in nomenclature and new sources of provision. There was also an adverse effect on the community status of people, and their families, who were admitted to a sanatorium or to Morpeth mental hospital, as well as the members of those households singled out for advice and visited by the monthly nurse, the forerunner of the health visitor. These visits usually followed school medicals which paid particular attention to undernourishment, scabies and infestations of head lice. Such visits caused much speculation and gossip. So much fear was generated by

infectious diseases, that total household groups, often with only one infected member, were shunned until well after a quarantine period had been completed.

However, new attitudes were evolving in other directions, as special skills and technologies were being developed. Newcastle infirmary, originally for the destitute sick, could offer services not available at home. Although this entailed charity, it was regarded as necessary and perfectly acceptable. Women were encouraged to pay sixpence a week "to Cissie" when she collected for the infirmary every week. Perhaps these contributions gave the service the status of a friendly society for no stigma was attached to admissions there for those who needed surgery such as appendicectomy or treatment such as setting broken bones caused by accidents.

Only two members of cohort I and one of cohort II experienced hospitalisation during early life. Isa explained:-

A hed appendicitis when A was sixteen (1916). A hed the pain from the Sunday. The doctor came on the monday night an' said he wouldn't be responsible. We hed t' hire a car. Bickerton o' Horseley. Neebody in Bellingham hed a motor car then. George (eldest brother) an' Davison Potts...A think Davison hed a motor byke or somethin'. An' they got the car for a certain time. Five pounds. It was a lot o' money then. Six o' clock in the mornin' A was takin' away an'....A was carried on a hurdle...(a sheep hurdle). A hed a poultice on...a linseed poultice. A got t' the infirmary before eight o' clock in the mornin'. A was operated on that day. An' A was in hospital for three weeks an' y' had t' be in bed a month when y' came home. Me mother got a taxi an' A was brought t' the carriage (at Newcastle Central) on a stretcher. They commandeered that carriage so A cud lie doon. An' when we got t' Bellingham George was there with another stretcher from the mortuary - the workhoose then- Aye, they were very good. An' didn't Mackay come forward, 'A'l help y' George .' He wasn't very big. An' they carried me... An' A hed t' wear a crepe bandage for a twelve month.

Hospital admissions were rare events for Bellingham residents and surgery was regarded as worthy of particular note. This rarity added to the remoteness of the antiseptic scented, esoteric institutional

world the infirmary represented. McBride (1980) describes it, in the late thirties, as an "aseptic, rubber-soled institution" (p.7). Families, were too isolated from it, by both geographical distance and the resultant travelling costs involved, to allow them to take advantage of the severely restricted visiting hours, which were rigidly enforced. "In patient" status was a strange form of separation. Patients were allotted a number by the hospital, and this was the sole means of checking the progress of their condition, available to community members. The family would eagerly note how their relative's number was listed in the hospital section of the "evening paper", for example under "deteriorating", "improving slightly" or referred to by the blanket statement "the rest no change".

Many accidents could be ascribed to home conditions or children being expected to do adult's work. For instance, Joe, whilst still a toddler, pulled a pan of potatoes from the fire. He was sent to the infirmary and the widespread deep scars stretch from his face on to his neck. In another incident, half his thumb was cut off in the turnip chopper at the local farm when he was nine. The doctor was sent for and wrapped it up. The bare bone still protrudes.

FORMAL CARE - THE WATERSHED - WORLD WAR II.

The threat of war brought obvious changes in community attitudes, as well as free gas masks for all. Further changes were spawned by rationing during World War II. A monthly clinic for expectant mothers, nursing mothers and children under five was held in the Methodist school room. Mothers were drawn by the availability of extras such as free or subsidised milk powder, rose hip syrup, cod liver oil and orange juice.

They readily accepted these supplements during a time of food rationing. Children paid 2½d per week at school for daily horlicks tablets, soon to be replaced by milk. In 1942, school meals at 2/- per week, for children attending all the village schools, were provided in the Town Hall. The ready acceptance of this formal provision was undoubtedly influenced by the cash contributions. Free school meals carried a reduction in status.

An emergency hospital was opened in Hexham, built as part of a government scheme which anticipated large numbers of casualties. This supplemented the Cottage Memorial Hospital which had been built by public subscription, was funded locally and staffed by local general practitioners, on a part-time basis. The centre of local hospital care was then moved to Hexham. Petrol rationing was introduced but Bellingham had its own ambulance, used only for emergencies. It was staffed by part-time volunteers and its upkeep was met by public subscription and various fund raising activities. For instance, these included raffles, dances and the gate receipts for the North Tyne Football League knock-out cup competition.

Meanwhile, future change was being consolidated at national level. The war-time coalition government accepted the proposal for a comprehensive Health Service based on the Beveridge Report of 1942. Discussions continued, followed by the 1944 White Paper on "the National Health Service" and finally the National Health Service Act of 1946. However, it was to be 1948 before the N.H.S. became established and the Poor Laws were repealed and replaced with National Assistance. The enormity of the initial nation-wide demand for resources which apparently characterized its introduction, accompanied by unprecedented publicity on the subject, was reflected in the change in community

attitude to free care. Before World War II, the acceptance of most forms of free care was regarded as a charitable handout which negatively affected the status of the recipient. However, after the establishment of "The Welfare State", amid severe restrictions such as food rationing, free provision came to be seen as one of the privileges of citizenship, part of the rewards of the recent successful struggle.

CHANGES IN INFORMAL CARE IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE N.H.S.

Caring in Bellingham evolved during the days when professional assistance and expertise was either not readily available, or beyond the means of most, and has continued to evolve with changes in state provision. Nevertheless, it is probably still in the guise of informal caring that unpaid work continues to be most significant in the community.

Caring during childhood

Attitudes to children have changed over time. Some members of cohort I were expected to take their place in full-time residential employment at twelve years of age, and began to take on adult roles but their grandchildren attend school until sixteen or eighteen years of age and even then often attend further training courses. However, perhaps cohort II, during childhood, were most heavily involved in caring for other children. Great adjustment was made during World War II. Evacuees, children, babies and their mothers arrived a week before the outbreak of war. Rene remembers going to, "Dada Wilson's to get one of them a dummy." The youngest members of cohort I and the older members of cohort II, as children, became increasingly involved in the care of the

evacuees.

At first, many of them were very unhappy for they were billeted with families who had spare accommodation. Soon they were to move into the greatly overcrowded homes of their newly-found friends, in their own social stratum. The local population of children was further increased when a "town school" was evacuated to live in "the camp school". The number of children in Bellingham was thus increased, by two hundred per cent. The village population was also temporarily modified by the absence of most of the young adult males, engaged in military service, some females in the same age group who were in the forces and others who were "mobilised" as part of the then current "direction of labour", regulations. In addition to these changes, in 1943, it was decreed that women aged 18-45 years must take up part-time work. Others, outside this age range, were absent from the village in response to labour requirements of "war work". The demands on the remainder, most of whom were concerned with agriculture, the focus of a special national drive towards greater self-sufficiency, drastically reduced their free time and thus further reduced the population of the village on a daily basis. One result of this was a temporary change in the content and balance of the community group which entailed greatly increased contact and interdependence between the young and the old. The automatic adjustment which allowed homeostasis to be maintained was a clear indication of the flexibility and efficiency of the community structure.

During childhood, thirteen of cohort I, eleven of cohort II and seven of cohort III felt that, at times, they took complete responsibility for other children particularly whilst going to and from school. Their accounts reflect the changing kinship patterns. Cohort I

mention caring for other siblings and cousins, cohort II refer to siblings and very much younger neighbours' children, whilst cohort III mention siblings only. A gender bias is apparent. Fifty per cent more girls than boys were involved. The reduction in responsibility, seen over historical time, could be partly explained by factors such as, the decrease in family size and the potential danger from traffic together with a less heavy work load encouraging some adults to supervise the journeys. However, from the childhood of cohort III to the present day, taking children to school and supervision generally, is likely to be linked with changing employment patterns, and is often combined with journeys to and from work.

Outside school hours, children, from a very early age, still watch or join in various activities. Ann explained, when the family was returning to her husband's home of origin, that, "It's more like one big family ...they'll be oot in the streets an' they'll be all right." During the childhood of cohorts I and II, elder boys tended to be responsible for their younger brothers and girls both younger brothers and sisters. Very often children were sent out in pairs for company or support, especially during potentially risky periods, for example, during after dark winter activities such as sledging. In exceptional cases, for instance, in some large families, the responsibilities placed upon a child were such that they entailed a full time role of unpaid work. For instance, Isa and Marget were members of large families. Both, as the eldest girl in the family, were cast in the role of "mother's help". Biddy, one of ten children said, "Well, my mother just hadn't the time t' look after them an A was at iverybody's beck an' cal'. Hinny A did the lot." Kathleen had her half brother to take out in the pram every day and no sooner was

he old enough to watch the street games than another baby was there to be cared for, too. She recalled, "A hated that damn pram!" She said of life then, "Diven't tak aboot it. Diven't tak aboot it. It was arful, arful."

Care of children tends to continue without the necessity for formal instructions. This is particularly apparent in the supervision of children during week-ends and school holidays. In an area where life has tended to be centred out-of-doors, children explore the countryside or join gangs. For the main part, older children from other kin groups are in control. These tend to be those who stay at school the longest - those who eventually go on to further and higher education. Such interactions among children, Youniss suggests "...lead to mutual understanding (and) allow children to discover individuals as persons sharing common motives, feelings and hopes" (1980,p.16).

Being cared for during childhood

Parsons (1956) ranks child care among the principal functions of the family and those survey subjects who spent their childhood within household groups in which they had no first degree kin, nevertheless grew up within stable groups. The survey subjects were asked, "When you were a child, did anyone outside the family come in to look after you, if your mother was away?" They were also asked, "Who looked after your children when you weren't at home?"

Until the last two decades, mother being away from home was exceptional. Referring to the period which preceded them, the usual reply was, "A can't think of any time me motha was away". Twelve members of cohort I and seven of each of cohorts II and III explained that there was always an adult in the house (see table 5). Neighbours and aunts

were most likely to provide extra cover during the childhood of cohorts I & II, and neighbours and grandmothers subsequently. The grandparent generation has increasingly become involved in child care whilst the number of children whose homes were never unoccupied almost halved.

Another key question, with regard to care was, "If there was no-one in when you returned home from school where would you go?" (see table 5.1). Information, on this point, was also collected in respect of the survey subjects' own children. Again, half the members of cohort I tended to regard the question as hypothetical, when applied to their childhood, reiterating that there would "always be some-one in", but this was not so with cohort III.

TABLE 5. SUPERVISION WITHIN HOME WHEN MOTHER WAS ABSENT

HELPERS WITHIN THE HOME

COMPARISON OF WHO GAVE HELP DURING CHILDHOOD AND PROCREATION STAGE

	INPUT			
CARING	Maid/Always someone in	neighbour	aunt	grandparent
Childhood Cohort I 24	5 + 7	7	4	1
Fam of Pro. Cohort I 22	7	5	2	8
Childhood Cohort II 24	1 + 6	8	6	3
Fam of Pro. Cohort II 21	5	2	2	12
Childhood Cohort III 24	7	6	1	10
Fam of Procreation	Cohort III	Insufficient Data		

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With the exception of the older members of cohort I survey subjects, concerning the childhood of their own offspring, they tended to answer a similar question in a matter of fact manner which suggested that such an occurrence would not be unusual. Most pointed out that grandmother lived nearby. Data collected regarding support during illness also underlines the increasing role of grandparents in the provision of care (see 5.2). It was also pointed out that neighbours would always welcome children. One subject, Theresa, claimed, "Most of their friends came to us. A used t' think nobody could count. Just send everybody back t' us." Thus, it is seen that the part played by a neighbour has remained constant over time whereas the role played by an aunt, though significant throughout the childhood of cohorts I and II, has greatly diminished in this area.

TABLE 5.1 A COMPARISON OF SHORT TERM CARING PROVIDED WITHIN OTHER HOUSEHOLDS- CHILDHOOD & FAMILY OF PROCREATION STAGE

Destination if no-one in home	Maid/Always someone in	neighbour	aunt	g/p	m/work
Childhood Cohort I	5 + 7	4	4	3	1
Family of Procreation Cohort I (22)	6	6	1	5	4
Childhood Cohort II	1 + 6	6	3	8	
Family of Procreation Cohort II (21)	5	7	1	7	1
Childhood Cohort III	7	6	-	11	
Family of Procreation	Cohort III	Not applicable			

KEY m/work mother's place of employment.

The extent of care provided by members of cohort I who had no children endorses the idea that aunts were an integral part of family support at the beginning of this century. Miss Milburn, a spinster, was

responsible for a niece and a nephew, who lived in her parents' home during school terms. Another survey subject, who was married but childless, supervised her niece and nephew whilst doing her milk round. On weekdays this was until it was time for school, after which they returned to the shop where she was working until their mother collected them on the way home from work. The role of the aunt is further emphasized by the fact that she was the most usual source of extra help in the home during times of illness throughout the childhood of cohorts I and II. For example, a member of cohort II explained, "Gladys was bad a lang time. M' aunt came and stayed." In the early part of this century, the provision of care either for members of the family of origin, such as sick or elderly parents and support for sibling's families of procreation was obviously an accepted part of the role accorded to unmarried women and their efforts in this area were an important part of the maintenance of stability. McBride says of spending some time in Bellingham, in 1938, "I had been nursing my little nephew" (1980.p.5).

TABLE 5.2 PRINCIPAL HELPERS DURING ILLNESS IN CHILDHOOD

CARING STAGES I & II		neighbour	aunt	g/p g/a	nurse
Extra help during illness	None needed				
ORIGIN CI	3	5	9	4	3
PROCREATION CI (22)	1	3	4	13	1
ORIGIN CII	4	7	9	4	
PROCREATION CII (21)	3	2	2	14	
ORIGIN CIII	5	5	-	13	in care 1
PROCREATION CIII	not applicable				

Key:- g/p grandparent ga great aunt

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When two subjects, whose fathers were self employed, needed extra care for several weeks, as a result of scarlet fever and influenza respectively, in each case a resident nurse was employed. These were exceptional instances. It was more usual, during epidemics, that the community's elderly spinsters and childless women, who had already been subject to these diseases, played their part by visiting and offering help to the majority of mothers, whose work load was already very heavy. Rene explained the inner stress caused:-

> Why, when Miss Telfer came A knew A was dyin'. She was like a ferret. She niva went anywhere till some-one was dyin'. She browt me grapes...A couldn't eat them...It was awful...The doctor gave me three injections.

Some neighbours called to do the shopping. Others stayed away, fearful of catching or spreading the disease. Will recalled:-

> It was owld Mrs Charlton who came t' help me mother, then. She did al' the shoppin'. Aye, an' the bakin'. Auntie Meggie niva came near the place. If folk hed found oot that sh' had been, they wadn't hev gone near her at chapel.

The long term care of nephews and nieces, seen in the household groups of the 1891 Census continues. There are fewer illegitimate children but kin group support is still necessary. For instance, Lance, in the fifties, gave a home to his wife's orphaned niece and, in two instances, members of cohort II helped to "bring up" a niece during the seventies and eighties. One niece, who lived next door with her divorced father, was three years of age when she first needed Margaret's (her aunt's) supervision. The second moved into Graham's (her uncle's) household group whilst her mother was in hospital for an extended period of treatment. Mandy, a member of cohort III, and her daughter moved in with Mandy's sister's household group after a marriage breakup.

Today, grandparents, even great grandmothers in some cases, are seen

to take an active part in the socialization of the young, giving continuity to one of the most important functions of society. Those survey subjects who are grandparents, are heavily involved in bringing up their grandchildren. In one instance, two of Kathleen's, both under school age, had joined her at work during the afternoon and she later put them to bed in her own home so that the parents could go out for the evening. The expansion of this kind of care and support, from all the elderly, is evident. Older neighbours help families with children, including incomers, thus facilitating their assimilation by the community. For example, one incomer, the mother of children of racially mixed parentage, explained her children's absence by pointing out that they spent most of their free time next door, in the garden if it was fine, with Amy and Ronnie, a middle aged couple who even took the children on their annual holiday. The vertical pattern of community care this kind of situation indicates is a part of a growing trend within the village and clearly reinforces the strong sense of belonging which characterizes the community group. As Rossiter & Wicks point out:-

> It is worth stressing that the elderly are not merely passive recipients of help and attention. Indeed, within many extended families, it is the help given to younger family members by older ones which represents the most substantial form of assistance (1982, p.41).

Men, because of the local employment and transport patterns, continue to share in the care of children for work, home life and social responsibilities are interconnected parts of a dominant community spectrum, influencing the attitudes of employers and employees alike. These various commitments overlap to such an extent that they are, at times, difficult to consider separately. For instance, the work places of the fathers, or guardians, of nineteen subjects (8 of cohort I, 5 of

cohort II and 6 of cohort III) were either adjacent to their homes or on the land attached. This meant that helping was a reciprocal arrangement. Mother and children were often drawn into father's employment, and he could, occasionally, be expected to help with work in or around the home, particularly with regard to the care of children. For instance, it was routinely expected that children and women would fetch and carry, relay messages and act as unpaid assistants in the work place, as well as entertaining visiting customers or patrons with tea and conversation, making up accounts, and calling at the bank.

TABLE 5.25

FATHERS/GUARDIANS WHOSE EMPLOYMENT & HOME LIFE WERE CLOSELY INTERWOVEN CHILDHOOD OF SURVEY SUBJECTS

	cohort I	cohort II	cohort III	total
Employment in or around the house	8	5	6	19
Other Self Employed	3	1	5	9
Others who returned midday	3	2	6	11
Available during the working day	14	8	17	39

Working hours for the self employed, employees and employers in small businesses and local representatives of larger organizations, tend to be flexible and often irregular. Therefore, the time spent engaged in unpaid work is largely dependent upon the demands of the work place. During "slack periods", the fathers of nine subjects, whose work normally took them outside the village, were able to assist with

household tasks. Ten men also returned home at "dinner-time" each day and another did so occasionally. Thus, more than half of the men, had contact with their families during the working day (see table 5.25). Occasionally this extended to the children accompanying their fathers during working hours leaving mothers to "get on with their unpaid work" in and around the home. For example, Kathleen strode after her father and "big brother" on the farm from a very early age and, during cohort III 's school holidays, it was usual for the water workers and wagon drivers to take their children with them, in their vehicles, sometimes for a full working day.

However, the overall responsibility remains with the women. This is in accord with the findings of sociologists such as Mason who confirms that, "...within marriage generally a common pattern has developed whereby women become and remain responsible for child care..." (1987,p.90), and Brannen who says that, "...they were in no doubt that the overall and day-to-day responsibility rested with them" (1987,p.176). Sanders & Reed also suggest that, "...we should be encouraging fathers to work shorter hours and share more in family life and child-care" (1983,p.214) and Wimbush found that, "Married mothers in particular are expected to cope on their own with the occasional back-up support of other family members, primarily husbands and mothers" (1987,p.157). Care of children, today, in Bellingham, seems to be shared by mothers, fathers and grandparents. However, there is back-up support by other relatives, neighbours and the community in general. Outside intervention is seldom required.

Maternity care and family support

It was to be nearly twenty years after the introduction of the

N.H.S. that women received one particular aspect of care which they required. Greer (1984) writes that where coitus interruptus is widely practised, "An efficient abortion service is a necessary concomitant". This was clearly applicable to Bellingham. However, abortion remains a secretive affair and it was difficult to establish the extent of the system. Community intelligence directed young women to someone who would help them to contact the abortionist within the area when the need arose. Two of cohort II knew that their mothers had abortions whilst one of cohort I and four of cohort II knew that their mothers had been unable to get one. One subject said "Ivry body knows Dr. Kirk threatened, owld Mrs M- t' stop her business or he would tek action". During the forties and fifties, one survey subject's teen-age sister was sent home from place to recover after an abortion. Two of her contemporaries, survey subjects, became pregnant and were given institutional accommodation in another part of the country. This was to be until after the birth of their children, whom the young mothers, in accordance with the then current practice, were encouraged to put them up for adoption. One of them rejected the provision and returned to the village, to marry the child's father.

Another two survey subjects married after their first child had been born whilst two mothers of teen-age children, neighbours of Theresa, died in the fifties after being rushed to hospital. The reason given on the "bush telegraph" was "women's problems". Loudon (1991) reminds us that, "...in the three year period before the Act was implemented (Abortion Act, 1967), abortion was the most important cause of maternal death" (p.286). Certainly, changing attitudes to birth control and abortion have influenced life expectancy for Bellingham women.

CHAPTER 5 - CARING

All members of cohorts I and II and their siblings were born in the family home, most without a doctor or a qualified midwife being called. Marget describes her home care. "Me motha said t' enjoy it. It was the only time that A'd get a complete rest. She wouldn't let me put m' foot ower the bedside for a fortnight". In five cases members of cohort I, or their wives gave birth at home, whilst another survey subject of the same cohort was admitted to hospital for the birth of her fourth child, after her third child had died at home.

TABLE 5.3 PLACE OF CARE -CHILDBIRTH

CARING	CHILDBIRTH	cI	cII	cIII
Place of birth of children	Hospital	9	18	9
	Hospital(home of origin)	5	2	
	Hospital & Home	1	1	
	Home or home of origin	5		
	Nursing home	1		
	Total	21	21	9

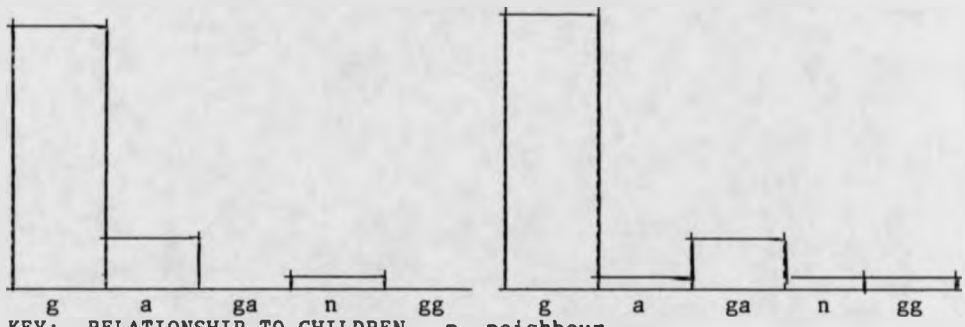
This is in contrast to subsequent practice when home confinements were rare (see table 5.3). With one exception, all the mothers, then, lived within the catchment area of the local maternity hospital, twenty-five miles distant. This was replaced by the maternity wing of Hexham hospital some years later. Since Margaret took up her appointment as Registrar, eight years ago, no baby has been born in Bellingham. This is in keeping with national figures. Oakley says that, "... all but 1 per cent of women in Britain gave birth in hospital" (1987,p.27). In five instances where the first child of a cohort I member was born in hospital, the child's mother returned to her home of origin and was

admitted to the maternity hospital which served that catchment area. It is in such situations, that the emergence of the role of grandparent is most obvious, as parental care directed to the young mother is extended to include the newly born baby.

Occasionally plans went wrong. Theresa explained about coming out of hospital:-

An' Raymond was only four pounds born an' he was born durin' the Asian flu. So A ' had t' keep him upstairs in a bedroom. So no-one could get upstairs, An' mam had it. An' Dad had it. Nobody could come to me an' A couldn't go to anybody. An' if anyone came t' the house at that stage, well, A couldn't let them in he was so little. A had a home help....

(5.4) HELPERS AT TIMES OF CHILDBIRTH



KEY:- RELATIONSHIP TO CHILDREN n- neighbour
a- aunt g- grandmother ga- great aunt gg- great grandmother

Kathleen was the exception of cohort II and chose to have her fourth child at home. She explained:-

A diven't like hospitals....There was plenty of help. Annabel took the washin', till A was on my feet, 'n Mrs Wood said, 'A'l hev the bairns. A' l tek them off y' hands for a bit.

In all cases, the husband and any children within the family of procreation were taken care of, during the mother's absence from home. It was interesting to note that ten husbands of cohort I, six of cohort

II and, already, five of cohort III returned to live within their families of origin or to have their meals, whilst their wives were in hospital. Rene explained, "Whey we were already livin' in the same street as me motha. Norman's motha decided he hed t' gan home t' have his dinnas". As well as this help, two families of cohort I sent their elder children to a parent's family of origin and four of cohort II sent their children to the husband's family of origin in Bellingham. Gillian said, "Neil's mother looked after Richard whilst A had Wendy". The children's grandmother or grandmothers are the most likely to be involved in such caring. These findings are supported by those of Cunningham-Burley (1985) and Bell, McKee & Priestly (1983). However, three great grandmothers were also helping.

Supplementary care within the N.H.S.

The introduction of the National Health Service initiated profound changes. The Emergency and the Memorial hospitals became integral parts of it and extended the medical provision to all the community. Data collected from the survey subjects suggested that the immediate concern was to provide corrective treatment in an attempt to remedy years of neglect. For instance, Margaret, after eleven years of age, had eye surgery, to correct a squint, which she was told would have been more appropriate before her fourth birthday. Similarly Derek, after the age of ten, attended an eye clinic, in Newcastle. Many people were provided with prescribed spectacles for the first time. "Old age glasses" had previously tended to be borrowed and passed on, unless there was a reading glass in the house. Dental services changed dramatically, too. Only, Angela continued her treatment within the private sector. Marget, in common with others, was fitted with false teeth for the first time.

She did little more than proudly show them off in their box.

The Bellingham community clearly appreciated the sense of security that the National Health Service provided and, by the time cohort III were fledgling members of the social group, they had begun to take advantage of most of the range of facilities which it offered. These ranged from hospitalization for both routine and emergency surgery to long term therapy. For example, there were instances of emergency action being taken when ambulances were called to take children to hospital after an accident in the play park, accidental ingestion of bleach, and even the loss of an eye after an accident involving a pocket knife. The ambulance or cars hired by the N.H.S. were also used when Christine regularly attended remedial therapy sessions to correct the alignment of her toes and when Raymond, a member of the same cohort, with impaired hearing, routinely visited clinics. Parents of cohort III members also mentioned other less obvious benefits for which they were grateful, such as the home visits which Raymond received and the accommodation provided for Anne's mother, when the child was admitted to an isolation hospital, suffering from meningitis. Her mother explained, "She was rushed t' "The Flemin" . She was in for six months an' A was there for the first month." Never the less there was little doubt that the maximum benefits that community' members derived, emanated directly from the village health centre. Probably the most widely appreciated aspect of this by the community, and the most effective, is the preventative medicine which constitutes freedom from seasonal outbreaks of disease and the consequent regular occurrence of life threatening situations which had accompanied them.

In the eighties, biography and history intercept. Community concern

was for contemporaries of cohort III. One died, as a teen-ager, of leukaemia after tremendous hospital support (see chapter 2). The other, Graham's nephew, had to be air-lifted by helicopter back to his remote farm home, during a sudden snow-storm, so that use could be made of the dialysis machine which had been installed for him there.

Three of the subjects of cohort I were debilitated for long periods but it was clear from their accounts that the inevitable hardship that had been previously associated with protracted bouts of illness, no longer troubled them. Joe, who was on sick leave for over a year after a car accident, for example, pointed out that his insurance cover, added to his salary, from which no national insurance contributions were deducted, meant that his family, the family of procreation, was much "better off". He added, That's hoo A got mi fust greenhoose. A couldn't afford one afore then."

Angela, on the other hand, explained:-

I wasn't actually ill. I was in hospital, quite often, yes. I had various things done. Varicose veins and my hip joint replaced. I've had everything done on the National Health.

Others required medical attention on a semi-continuous basis, accepting hospital treatment but spending long periods at home. Margaret shared with the hospital in the care of her husband, who was incapacitated with heart trouble. Alan, of cohort II, explained how difficult it is to work with arthritis, saying that he collects regular medication. He is in full-time employment and runs a smallholding. Jackie enjoyed fishing when he was "on the sick". These and other episodes, such as Billy's wife having a replacement knee joint, foster the impression that the general trend has been an escalation of provision by the health service.

CHAPTER 5 - CARING

Changing care for the ill and old

During the earlier part of this century, care of the sick and infirm largely took place within their own homes. The sick were even sent home in what would be considered, today, very unlikely circumstances (see p.154). For instance, Isa's brothers, suffering from influenza, were sent home, from barracks, after they had volunteered for military service at the outbreak of World War I, and Marget's brother was sent back from the army, four years later, suffering from scarlet fever, from which he subsequently died. A year later, her younger sister was sent back home from "place wi' 'flu", during an epidemic. Another subject, Doris, returned to her place of employment, after visiting her ill brother and was ordered home, by way of quarantine. She was "not let ower the door step" by her employers. Patients were travelling to and from hospital by the only widespread public transport at that time, the L.N.E.R.. For example, this mode of transport was used during the twenties for Joe's sister, who had developed tuberculosis whilst employed as a hospital nurse and was sent home, and Jim's wife, who had been in isolation hospital suffering from tuberculosis, during the thirties came home by hired taxi, "...when there w's nothin' more they could do for her." McBride (1980) mentions, "...and sometimes sent home to die when the right answers were not to be found in the medicine books of 1939 (p.7).

Such a system meant that other provision had to be made, in exceptional circumstances, when home care was impossible. Paying for care for the chronically ill and for geriatric care within another household group, although not the norm, was not an uncommon occurrence until the fifties. The families of two survey subjects had each had the

experience of a a bedridden elderly woman being boarded with them and Mrs Charlton, a widow, who was John's next door neighbour, cared for a succession of terminally ill people, within her own home, providing each in turn with her only bedroom.

Throughout this time, men joined clubs and friendly societies to make provision for any change in circumstances. "The Foresters" has continued to be active in the village until the time of writing. Others have long since been wound up. Until the late forties, ninety-nine Bellingham men were members of "The Good Intent Club" and there was always a waiting list. Billy explained how it worked:-

> She (mother) paid sixpence a week and if y' were off sick y' got ten shillings a week. And if there was any money left over at the end of the year it was dished oot at 'club night' at Christmas time. It was a good thing. What wi' bein' sick an' gettin' low wages....

Some of the safety net provisions were more drastic. Two survey subjects and their younger brother were helped by "The Foresters" by being sent to an orphanage, on the death of their father, in the thirties. They returned every summer for their holidays to join their mother and their younger siblings.

Caring by children

Children, particularly during the first half of this century, tended to be seconded to other households, which were childless. There was no way of telling whether grandchildren, nieces and nephews living within the households of second degree kin, shown by the census of 1891, were there to be cared for or were on loan to do the caring. However, the recollections of survey subjects lend credence to the idea that it would be a mixture of both. At peak times of employment in the country this has been the traditional pattern, the old and the young being drawn

together.

All the survey subjects during childhood were involved to some extent in the care of the ill, the infirm or the elderly. This included those who chose or were sent to, "Look in t' see if anything was wanted" especially when a neighbour was "hard up" (badly affected by illness age or infirmity) or "gay(very) hard up". Yeandle confirms that, "Caring for the sick or elderly ...often commences in small acts of support such as fetching shopping or help with the housework..." (1987,p.124). Giving tended to be reciprocated or acknowledged. Rene of cohort I, who "looked in on" old Mrs Charlton up the steps, had in earlier days been taught to crochet by Mrs Charlton's bedridden mother and Jackie of cohort II, sent to see if one-legged Tommy was "all right", was often rewarded with "a black bullet". "Owld drunken Kit", who had served in the Boer War, needed "pickin' out of the gutter reglar", as several of the survey subjects who had been involved in the task explained. This was one of the responsibilities which was assumed by members of the community who, informed or assisted by children, happened to be available.

The major part of such caring during the childhood of cohorts I and II was provided by children. Their parents, who had joined the work force at twelve to fourteen years of age, assumed that children could do many of the tasks in and around a home, thinking that it was "ridiculous to keep big lads and lasses at school, and hevin' them t' feed till fourteen and fifteen". Carrying buckets of water from the communal tap, shaking heavy mats, putting in the coal, carrying out ashes and slops were all thought of as jobs that an eight year old could do (see chapter 6). Mothers, at this time, were heavily involved in work within their own homes. When some of the same needs were to be serviced later in

historical time, the mothers of cohort III had fewer children to perform the tasks involved. However, the proliferation of electrically powered labour saving devices provided them with the time to "look in" for themselves. As one survey subject pointed out, the days when mothers "niva got oot o' their pinnies" and "niva went t' the shops" had gone. Married women, who were more likely to be "married in" took over much of the caring in the sixties and seventies. This was supplemented by a home help public service which had been established and was staffed by village women, thus tending to reinforce the perception of normality which was associated with their caring role.

At the depleted stage of family life, first degree kin living in nearby houses is likely to include siblings and adult children (see table 5.5). However, six survey subjects of cohort I accepted their elderly and infirm "mother-in-law" into their homes of procreation when either the subjects or their parents-in-law felt they could no longer cope on their own. This was obviously regarded as an integral part of marriage. For instance, Angela, having been widowed and remarried, shared in the care of both her mothers-in-law. She explained:-

> Families always used to look after relatives. I looked after my own mother when she was old or sick. I looked after my husband's mother part of the time. And I looked after my first husband's step-mother. I had her, here, at Bellingham for quite a long time.

She further explained that her mother-in-law, who gave up her home, visited each of her three children in turn. This is in keeping with the findings of Marsden & Abrams that the widowed mother moved early to join the "...middle class geographically mobile" (1987,p.203).

Margaret of cohort II, whose husband is part of a Bellingham kinship group, recalled helping her mother-in-law saying, "A used t' do her

housework an' she used t' make me a frock". She went on:-

A took care of Jim's parents. Jim's mother till she died and Jim's father till he went in hospital. An' he died in hospital. An' Jim's auntie Madge ...until she died. A was there when she died. My family were still at school but we managed. Now it's auntie Winnie....

In a similar vein, Gillian outlined the extent of the care she now provides in the form of housework for both her mother and mother-in-law. However, she did emphasize the amount of help when her children were small. For others, help involved little more than "looking in on", very regularly, first and second degree kin and "keeping a friendly eye" on elderly neighbours by socializing. Biddy spent every thursday evening playing whist with three of her elderly relatives. Yeandle's comments that, "The responsibility of caring for kin in the ascending generation frequently falls on women in midlife" (1987,p.129). Whilst this is largely true in Bellingham, men continue to take a significant part in caring for the old, those with most time being expected to carry the heaviest load. For instance, Leslie, a bachelor, slept at his aunt's for the last few years of her life because, "....whey, she used t' wander al' ower the place in the night."

Health care, housing, money and material possessions have improved greatly during the period under examination and the practice of children moving into the homes of elderly parents or providing them with accommodation within children's homes is now rare. Meals tend to be provided for elderly fathers and occasionally infirm mothers by their children. Gordon explained, "Father comes here every night for his dinner for a week and then he goes round the other two". Such provision is made lighter because there is a very reliable "meals on wheels" service. Meals are also served, for old age pensioners, in the Reed Hall

on fridays, after which a whist drive is organized. The overall picture lends support to the findings of Marsden & Abrams that, "Working class families...living closer meant that care in separate households remained feasible and there was less need to move" (1987,p.203).

The elderly infirm often receive care from several directions. Three men of cohort II, each of different homes of origin, mentioned going in to help "uncle Joe" who had a "home help", "meals on wheels" and was taken, by ambulance, to Hexham hospital every friday for therapy. Joe, of cohort II, went in every morning to see him, "..an' got him his breakfast" before leaving for work. Such wider commitment to community care was shown by Joan. She asked Jane, in the street, "Have you seen Nina around this morning? No? Well, I 'll just pop in an' see if she's up all right". Because people are living longer, today, than earlier this century, some survey subjects who have reached retirement age are themselves committed to the provision of care of the elderly. Joan, who is retired, also mentioned looking in on neighbours - the Scotts, and the Bells and Theresa who visits her elderly next door neighbour every day, was about to give another neighbour a lift down to the shops when she was interviewed. It is, as Yeandle found that, "Caring may be expected of some women until they are well past the statutory retirement age" (1987,p.129). Sometimes, national schemes and informal care become inter-twined. Daphne, eventually, acted as home help for her husband's spinster aunt and bachelor uncle, "...just doon the bank". She explained, "Peg hed her pail and Kit his pot an' the slops were left for me t' carry doon ivery day".

Caring for the elderly- hospital and home

Farmer & Miller point out that, "The largest group of patients in

all Western countries are those who require long-term care but do not need the high technology and skills associated with the acute hospital" (1983,p.185). Most of the survey subjects who have reached this point in life have many relations nearby (see table 5.5) Marget's elderly husband, benefited from the local hospital system of bed sharing. It allowed the family to cope with Bob as he became increasingly infirm and totally blind. Six of the men in cohort I, in need of long term care following hospitalization, three after severe strokes, are currently living at home with the aid of considerable community support.

Table 5.5 MEAN OF RELATED HOUSEHOLDS NEARBY- DEPLETED STAGE .

ANALYSIS		First Degree Kin				Second Degree Kin					Other
	Home	Mother or Father	Siblings	Child		Aunt Uncle	Nephew Niece	Grand-child	Grand-parent		
C I	21	0.05	0.43	0.62	1.1	0.24	0.71	0.05	-	1	6.86
CII	14	0.28	0.57	0.5	1.35	0.64	0.21	-	-	0.85	2.07
		First Degree Affines				Second Degree Affines					
C I	21	0.05	0.62	0.14	0.81	0.29	0.43	-	-	0.72	3.57
CII	14	0.28	0.43	0.14	0.85	0.29	0.07	-	0.07	0.43	2.5
Total		First Degree Relatives				Second Degree Relatives					
C I	21	0.1	1.05	0.76	1.9	0.52	1.14	0.05	-	1.71	10.43
CII	14	0.5	1	0.64	2.14	0.93	0.29		0.07	0.36	4.64

n.b. not applicable to cohort III

Most of the women in cohort I consider that they have no problems. However, some are treating their affirmities lightly. Mrs Brown at seventy-three can walk with extreme difficulty and Peggy, eighty-one

years of age, when she was interviewed, had broken her arm and was waiting for the district nurse to give her a regular injection. Yet, both were working, running their own businesses. Peggy mentioned that she called to see her ninety year old sister-in-law, who also lives on her own, every afternoon and went there for her dinner on sundays.

The caring and state provision seems endless and even though some outside help could have been procured before the introduction of the "Welfare State", most would have largely been "far beyond the pockets" of the survey subjects. The five great evils mentioned in the Beveridge Report of want, idleness, ignorance, disease and squalor have largely been eradicated during the lives of cohort I.

COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

It is reasonable to assume that some initiatives concerning welfare of the elderly, which have been planned largely at national level, are unlikely to be able to satisfactorily cater for the problems they address without some fine tuning to accommodate local conditions. Nevertheless, one important facet of this particular area of welfare provision has tended to be counter-productive when applied in the environs of the survey area, even when modified by the local authority. The provision of all the district sheltered accommodation for the elderly and infirm within Bellingham has introduced new problems into the lives of some of the recipients and is an obvious instance of the homoeostasis of a local system based on community units being disturbed, on a relatively long-term basis, by the interference of national institutions who were unaware of, or insensitive to, the possible consequences of their actions. In this case, the problems are largely

the result of a policy which was implemented by the Forestry Commission over forty years ago, and was criticized, at the time, by the local district council.

Reconstruction of industry, following the end of World War II, highlighted the urgent need for recruitment by the Commission. Part of this reconstruction was necessitated by an acute housing shortage and when the Forestry Commission offered houses, in newly built villages, to new employees, people from other localities, including northern urban conurbations also took advantage of the opportunity to obtain housing for their families. Some of these incomers, now elderly, who have been established in outlying villages, are leaving the neighbourhood enclaves and abbreviated kinship groups to which they belong and the support provided by such groups. They lack the comprehensive local kinship and affine connections which tend to provide alternative assistance for members of local family networks (see table 5.5). This deficiency has generated so many problems that one of the local general practitioners has launched a scheme, backed by the parish council, aimed at recruiting fifty volunteers to fill the gap.

CONCLUSION

Marsden & Abrams state that, "It looks as though the commonest caring situation is going to be the care of lone elderly women by their daughters living in the same dwelling" (1987,p.192). The material collected, in connection with the caring situation in Bellingham, provides definite contra indication that this is so. In Bellingham, such care, as they describe, belongs firmly in the past.

Today, all the elderly survey members are still living in their own

homes and clearly find the level of support they receive provides adequate assistance for their needs. The community care which they receive is part of the same general network of assistance which is available during times encompassing illness, hospital admissions or death. Continuous adjustment of this is effected in response to intelligence gathered by the two-way monitoring of one generation by another which is seen as essential to ongoing community life. The resultant awareness of other people's problems and abilities instigates an assessment of their need for advice or help and this triggers assistance which is appropriate to the recipients' needs and the donors' resources.

The most significant change during the time covered by the lives of the survey subjects has been the lifting of the continual threat of being forced to near destitution as a result of having to pay for essential medical treatment. Additionally, the state provision of various kinds of income is also a source of considerable comfort and reassurance. The effect of this is reinforced by forms of elective treatment, such as drug therapy or the provision of artificial joints, which make the long-term infirmities of old age less debilitating. No longer are the old without hope. No longer are they without money in their own right.

The resulting enlargement of the proportion of elderly in the community has had two major effects. By increasing the numbers of people susceptible to the infirmities of old age, it has stepped up the demands made on carers. This extra requirement has, to some extent, been ameliorated by the increased leisure time now available to all members of the community and more generous provision of resources by central and

local government but the change which has provided most of the necessary reinforcement is the increase in available active retired people whose free time has been extended by the cessation of the demands of employment.

Although there has been a significant change over time in caring, the bond between the old/infirm and the young remains but the reciprocal tendency when grandparents who had provided care for children were usually supported, in infirmity by the same children has changed with the passage of time. The greatest share of caring for the old is being done, today, by those who are approaching or have reached retirement age, in most cases their children. This relieves the young of responsibility whilst the old, provided with an increased level of support themselves, are able to give the young greater supervision. Increased longevity is also creating a situation when some young children have, in addition to parents and grandparents to provide care, a great-grandmother to share these duties. This gives even more continuity and stability to socialization.

Both historical and biographical survey data, regarding caring, indicate that there has been a rise in the importance of grandmothers to the nuclear family. There is less likelihood that there will always be someone in the home today but this is more than compensated for by the fact that more children have living grandparents nearby to whose homes they have free access.

CHAPTER SIX

ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

INTRODUCTION

It was clear from the material collected in connection with this study, that unpaid work has continued to be an important part of the overall picture of the care system. It has made significant contributions to the efficient operation of the household groups within the community and affected the quality of life of their members. As in any successful group, differentiation of work within it, is highlighted throughout this century. At the beginning of the period, women had little time to spend outside the home, men had little time to spend within it and children were loaned or borrowed between household groups. Today, women have more time to spend outside the home, men spend more time within their household groups whilst children tend to serve as liaison, belonging to more than one household.

For the purposes of clarity, it was found necessary to define the term "unpaid work" as used in this study, since the practice of payment in kind, which is firmly rooted in the established village norms of the past, has continued throughout the period under examination. Unpaid work is regarded, in the present context, as that form of work which is carried out as part of assumed responsibility or implied commitment, which is not part of any bargain or special quid pro quo arrangement. The term is used throughout to refer to work which is in this specific category, as distinct from other terms which imply an absence of wages or salary. Unwaged employment, on the other hand, is taken to embrace that which is remunerated by fees, as paid to craftsmen, profits, such as those accrued by tradesmen and farmers or payment in kind (see chapter 7).

CHAPTER 6 - ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

In order to appreciate any alteration in the nature or significance of unpaid work, which may have been caused by changes during the study period, such as the rising standard of living, the availability of a wide range of consumer goods, and advances in domestic technology, its relative importance is noted. Special attention is given to the areas of maximum application of unpaid work. In the wake of a review of the material collected, discussion takes place against a special awareness of tasks and responsibilities encompassing housekeeping. This includes an examination of support activities, such as gardening, animal husbandry, the provision of fuel, repairs and maintenance of housing and their importance, over the years. Attention is focussed on daily, weekly, seasonal, annual and occasional routines. The consequences of the load of unpaid work such as physical effort, stress, commitment and associated status acquisition for children, women and men, are also discussed. By these means it is hoped to move towards a more holistic picture of the progressive mode of operation of household groups, and, ultimately, the effect of their interaction and integration, on community development.

THE IMPORTANCE OF UNPAID WORK

During the early part of this century, the standard of living that could be provided by the income of the household's main wage earner was such that, in most cases, without supplement and careful economic strategy, the physical well being of members would have been threatened. These threats were associated with poverty, being concerned with inadequate provision of necessities such as warmth and clothing, but particularly of food. Subsequent societal development, such as rising

living standards, may have greatly diminished the role of unpaid work as an antidote to life threatening circumstances but there are good grounds for supposing that its contribution to the quality of life is virtually indispensable particularly with regard to care of the elderly.

FOOD SUPPLIES

The over-riding concern of most residents in Bellingham, at the beginning of this century, was the supply of food. The situation was, at times, so extreme that even the sharing of food involved implications of precedence and wage earners were waited upon by other household members, including children. The recollections of cohort I subjects indicate that, in circumstances of severe hardship, the nutrition of wage earners was of considerable importance in the matter of protecting meagre incomes. Their statements are supported by some of the idiomatic phrases, which are still in current use. These imply the propriety of a wage earner to being fed more generously than others. A woman or a child with a large appetite is referred to as "eatin' like a farm worker" and a tasty meal of modest size is often categorized as, "Nee gud for a workin' man." This bias is understandable, bearing in mind that the demands of employment in the countryside, during some seasons, necessitated long hours of hard physical effort if uncompromising targets were to be met, in order to secure even barely adequate wages. Thus, any activity which increased the amount of food available or freed limited resources which could be put to this use, was of crucial importance.

Animal husbandry

Most unpaid activities were, therefore, closely connected with its

procurement. For instance, in addition to the nine survey subjects (three of cohort I, four of cohort II and two of cohort III), who lived on farms and smallholdings during their childhood, the families of origin of thirty subjects (fourteen cohort I, ten cohort II and six of cohort III) kept a selection of animals, which included pigs, goats, sheep, hens, ducks, turkeys, bantams, pigeons, rabbits and ferrets. The most popular choices were hens and bantams. The practice of keeping pigeons and ferrets had apparently ceased before the period encompassing the childhood of cohort III members but by this time animal husbandry had been extended, in two instances, by the re-introduction of goats, after an absence of more than forty years. Today, Daphne freezes some of the milk during plenty and uses it to feed the pigs at other times. Since moving on to a smallholding, recently, the family keeps sheep and has three lambs slaughtered for the deep freeze in the autumn. This practice, together with the slaughter of pigs, is general among farmers and smallholders. This is very different from the fifties, a time when Kathleen explained, "Well, there were old hens, boilers. They wouldn't eat them, now."

The importance of unpaid activities, the backbone of the economic well-being of a household group, continued until after World War II and it was organized, for the main part, on a household basis. Occasionally, a man was involved in tending livestock but it was understood that his role in this sphere was optional and not part of his responsibilities. Other activities were strictly his preserve. If it was his custom to go rabbiting or ratting regularly with ferrets, he would be reluctant to allow anyone else to feed and care for them. Johny explained that easy retrieval of the animals was facilitated by familiarity for, "Th' winna

come to y' ower sharp if th' dinna kna y'." However, the prime purpose of the activity was to stock the larder, protect stored supplies and limit expenses.

For the success of any group there must be differentiation of labour. The chores encompassing the care of livestock were divided with a distinct gender bias. The practice on the farms, where the maids were responsible for the preparation of food and the feeding of these animals, and the hinds (farm labourers) were responsible for the maintenance of the stables and "hemmels" was echoed in other domestic situations. The boys were expected to effect running repairs of the huts and hutches and the women or an older daughter prepared the food. Children were responsible for a considerable amount of the work involved in this animal husbandry, such as feeding the animals, changing litter and collecting eggs from the hen house.

Apprenticeship for these tasks began early. Joe recounted the effort involved in going to Low Leam farm, almost a mile from his home, to fetch a "batten o' straw to clean the hens oot." He always "got it for nothing." When he was a little older, he was introduced to another task, killing the hens for the table. He also remembered his ineptitude, explaining, "Mi father showed us hoo but ye knaw it was mi forst time an' A pulled fair ower hard 'n the heed come off i' mi hand. The shock made 's drop the hen 'n it ran aboot wi' nee heed." Biddy (cohort I) recalled her involvement, relating that:-

> Efta iveryone hed hed a go at cleanin' the pie dish, A used to be sent ower t' put it in the hen run. By, they al' came t' peck at it an' fight ower it. When a dish was missin', it wis ower t' the hen run t' get it.

Very small children were involved in the overall care of the hens. Margaret explained, "Once mi mother found oot that a hen was layin'

away, we were arl' watchin' oot f't." In one instance, she remembered, "A once found a Rhode Island Red under the brambles beside the gasworks' warl'. The eggs were deep sittin' so we let her hatch them oot." This was a comparatively rare occurrence for, as she said, "Mi motha usually barred a clocker (broody hen) up. That soon fettled her". On the other hand, Doris recalled:-

> We used t' whiles shift the clocker so w'could keep an eye on the eggs. As soon as there was a crack we were ready t' see t' the chickens. We put them in the clays (clothes) basket an' fetched them ower t' the hoose. A've even known me motha put them in the oven t' keep them warm. Haf a noor or see, as soon as th' w' drinkin' an' dry, they'd be back ower wi the clocker.

The garden

Throughout late spring, summer and early autumn, the men and older boys found time to work in their gardens. Although this was very definitely a patriarchal domain, the mother and children, as members of the same household unit, were expected to help, on the implicit understanding that they were assisting under the direction of the father. They were called in to help at times of peak activity, to weed, to water, to collect sand, urine and sheep's faeces, to harvest fruit, peas and beans and to prepare the produce. Billy explained that, unless the help was to his father's liking, it was rejected. This is in keeping with children's general training, in that, in the initial stages it is much more time consuming to train and to labour than to complete a task unaided. Clearly, during the childhood of cohort I and II, the members very quickly learned to conform since their help seems to have been constantly required.

One of cohort I recalled the point at which he began to feel that he had acquired a level of skill which justified running his own garden. He

explained:-

Me fatha used t' gan up (to the garden) at neet efter he'd weshed eesel' and had his dinner (after returning from the coal mine). A'd foller' him up an' ask him if he wanted a hand, 'nd he'd arlwus say 'aye' and A would start strite away. One night, as soon as A started diggin' he says, 'That's not reet, y' hevn't turned the soil reet ower'. One thing led t' another an' A was marched oot o' the garden.

He reported that, from then on, he worked in his grandfather's garden, where his ability was recognized, and appreciated by his grandfather who was " crippled wi' the pains." Joan, on the other hand, obviously as a special concession, was given her very own plot under the lilac bushes. She was only allowed to have it for one season. For years afterwards her father complained of the cornflowers that "came up like weeds al' ower the garden."

In seeking a dwelling with a very low rent, those in most need, such as widows and one parent families, had little choice but to forego access to the additional means of support provided by a garden. This compounded their poverty. Later in the research period, allotments were rented from the Parish Council for a nominal sum and council houses built in the late forties, fifties and sixties had large gardens. Therefore, during the later part of the period under consideration, this kind of facility was available to all. For example, families of origin of all cohort III members had either a garden or an allotment. Many family gardens, today, show the effects of increases in leisure time and disposable incomes. Some of the huts and cold frames, largely constructed from salvaged timber, and the jam jars, which were once features of most plots, have been replaced by garden sheds, cold frames, green houses and cloches bought from garden centres or by mail order.

In general, men's authority was unchallenged until the crops were

taken into the house. Their decisions determined everything of importance from the selection of the seeds used to the methods of cultivation, the time of harvesting and the storing of the crops. Men sought advice from the more knowledgeable members of the leek club or from one of the squire's gardeners. Root crops were carefully stored. For instance, potatoes and swedes were kept in any available shelter, such as a garden shed or even the work place. They were insulated from the frost, using materials such as sacking or old mats in any container that came to hand, perhaps a disused water butt, an old "poss tub" or a tea chest. Most members of cohorts I and II remembered potatoes selected for seed being stored in the bedrooms, "laid out" under the beds until they sprouted and, in most cases, produce of the garden which could not be stored outside was taken into the house to be preserved.

This was the work of the women of the household, who were assisted by the children, according to their level of skill. During the earlier part of the period under examination, this initiated periods of intense activity connected with cooking chutneys, jams and jellies, pickling onions and cabbage, and drying herbs. In recent years, the widespread ownership of refrigerators and freezers has greatly eased the autumn work load. There is still an upsurge in activity during this time but pickling onions and cabbage has declined and fewer people make jam. Now fruit is washed and vegetables blanched for the freezer. Thus, greater affluence has muted the wide seasonal variation in diet which attended efforts to avoid wasting the rest of what was virtually a free supply of food during a time of restricted resources.

The slow improvement in the quality of life, which was discernible by the nineteen thirties, was accompanied by the development of inter-

household connections in the matter of unpaid work. Perhaps the small increase in leisure time, the decrease in family size and easing of privation triggered this trend. During this period, in the short autumn abundance of food, resources tended to be shared. Although there was no actual process of barter or payment in kind, this was a time when obligations could be discharged. For instance, Mrs Charlton had no garden but Willie's (cohort II) father planted parsley especially for her in his garden. Those women, acknowledged as the village biscuit makers, cake specialists or experts in the craft of jams and jellies, who had assisted or worked for other villagers, were sent some of the prime parts of the crops. This echoes Pahl's more recent findings regarding the Isle of Sheppey, "He does favours for them and they do favours back" (1984,p.340).

Food from the countryside

The food supply, which the garden offered, was not the only available source. The appropriate parts of the season and the most prolific sites for gulls' and peewits' eggs, mushrooms and wild fruit such as blackberries, feral raspberries and crab apples were widely known and many families took advantage of this free harvest. Eggs were put into water glass. Billy mentioned, "We used t' hev a rabbit pie. Aye, an' a blackcock or a grouse that hed hit the telephone wires ower Hareshaw Head... 'n poached salmon." Eels, trout and salmon were regularly caught in the burn and the Tyne. With affluence, in the sixties, came worth-while poaching trips across the border, by car. After one of the most successful expeditions, there was no ice-cream in the village, for the Lyons' freezers were packed to capacity. Today, villagers talk of how venison has become readily available and is on

offer as far south as Tyne & Wear.

From an early age, children were taken on expeditions. Consequently, they regarded knowing the best places to go as natural. During the period of shortage which attended World War II, these foods of the countryside continued to be a valuable supplement to the garden produce, which provided a very welcome alternative to the limited variety of poor quality jams and eggs on offer in the shops. Wild fruit is still collected, on a much reduced scale, but the main purpose of the operation is now more concerned with exponents of culinary skills and connoisseurs' palates than shoring up family food supplies.

Material collected during interviews repeatedly showed that women, as well as men, were recognized, by other community members, as having a particular skill or area of expertise. During the decade preceding World War II, household demands had eased and they were only too willing to advise others or "help out", by carrying out processes such as preserving on the behalf of others, specializing in one niche. Billy recalled "Mi mutha alwus made rhubarb an' ginger jam, Aunty Esther did the crab apple jelly and Winnie made blackcurrant". Jackie also explained, "Mrs Charlton always made the ginger snaps, an' Nancy made the Christmas cake." This is at odds with the findings of Rice who in 1939 said that mother never specialised and seldom learned "real skill in any of her dozens of different jobs" (1981,p.15). In addition, it is impossible to reconcile the findings in Bellingham, which referred to the constant physical stress of housewives and the support they received, with Rice's assertion that, "In some pathetic cases the older woman ...is actively unhappy and finds time extremely heavy on her hands" (p.109). This view is in conflict with the obvious obligations

assumed by members of the community and the level of expectation associated with the older woman's role, even if she had little but time and the most rudimentary skills to offer.

As increased free time has been made available by the spread of domestic technology and labour-saving strategies, the incidence of unpaid work incorporating members of more than one household group has increased. Now, that people no longer struggle with scant resources and inordinate demands on their time, they have the opportunity to demonstrate their skills in return for the approbation of their neighbours and community status. This tendency, through the media of newly assumed duties and implied obligations, has clearly emphasized and strengthened inter-household connections. The result of increased free time is to be seen in the basic fabric of the community structure and wider fields of cooperation. Today, John's wife is approached when a wedding cake is needed but Mrs Proudlock will be the one to do the icing, Ann will be expected to make the bridal gown and Bill might even provide a salmon for the buffet.

WARMTH

Fuel

Although the provision of food, early this century, was the major source of anxiety for many families, most had shelter and some warmth. In general, the latter was totally dependent on the results of unpaid work and its provision was, therefore, a direct result of the combination of the strategy and effort involved. Very few opportunities of collecting fuel were ignored, during the earlier part of the survey period. For example, children responsible for the shopping would carry

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home orange boxes, farm workers would pick up discarded timber posts and platelayers regularly brought home old chocks. Nevertheless, fuel was, for the main part, in the form of fallen branches of trees or timber "brought down" by the river floods and most of the cohort I members referred to "collecting firewood" when discussing the routine chores of their childhood. They were obviously not referring to kindling wood but a major source of fuel, for Derek spoke of the heavy work of "dragg'n logs", and Daphne that, "We used t' carry a great big log on the shoulder back." John's grandmother, on the other hand, with the two young children in her care, collected firewood almost every day. In addition to maintaining the supply of fuel, one of her chores, in wet weather, was to dry a substantial amount of it, in the warm oven.

Provision of an adequate supply of fuel continued to depend heavily on unpaid work until the early fifties. Mothers would neglect housework the day after a flood, and some children would miss school, in order to bring drift-wood home. Later father, and sometimes mother, helped by "the boys", would saw the heavier branches into lengths for the fire and stack the wood against the wall. This renewable, steady supply of firewood was eventually affected by World War II and the period of austerity which followed it, when coal was rationed. The minority of residents, mainly those categorized as professionals, who normally used coal as their supply of fuel began to compete for this fire-wood and, as their efforts, or those of their agents increased, a shortage occurred. "Iverybody wanted it", Kathleen explained, "Noo, the ice was on the Tyne 'nd there wasn't a tree left on the island." At the other end of the village, Margaret recalled, "There wasn't a small tree left in the Lynn. Iverything that w's small enough t' drag was browt

yem."

The relative affluence which characterized the second decade of the post war period, affected dependence on wood and even as a supplement to the main source of heating, its place in village budgets, today, is negligible. None of the village trades' people find it a very profitable sideline to sell wood although Ronnie, a village shopkeeper and carpenter does so. Firelighters are on sale, at a similar low level of turnover, and when asked about their use, Doris explained, "When the weather's bad y' whiles canna get the sticks (collected previously) to light very well, that's when A use one." In most instances, the procurement of kindling wood remains one of the household chores or part of the care system.

The main forms of fuel in the community are now coal, calor gas or electricity, the gas-works having closed in the late thirties. In most homes these are used in combination. To service the needs of the community, in this area, a coal merchant has a fortnightly round, a calor gas agency is firmly established in the village and a plumbing/electrical business, employing five men, is based there.

Clothing

During the first half of this century, clothing most community families, which was usually accomplished with a very small wardrobe but included several layers of clothes, necessitated much unpaid work. All the socks, stockings, gloves, jerseys and jumpers were hand-knitted by members of the household group. This was part of the accepted female role. Before they had reached the end of the junior school class, all the girls could turn a heel. More advanced skills, such as grafting parts of knitted garments, were also part of a girl's early education

and their absence would be regarded as a shortcoming in either the child or her home, that needed explanation. Joan commented that, "Miss Milburn was the best teacher there was...but A still cannot graft a toe, A tek mine t' Vera". Baby clothes, some children's clothes and socks were knitted without reference to a pattern. Even gloves were knitted from memory, perhaps with the occasional reference to a neighbour.

It was probable that the wool for many of these articles would have been obtained by carefully pulling out the wool from old garments and rewinding it ready for recycling, a process which, for economic reasons was much in evidence during the earlier half of the period under examination. Holed and thin socks were not discarded. Every household had a "mushroom" and using it to help to darn holes was a part of the basic skills a girl acquired early in her life. Socks and stockings were darned over and over again until the feet seemed to be patch-worked. Then "the feet" were cut off, the loops picked up and the socks re-footed. Only when "the legs" were matted and the loops could no longer be found, were they turned into kettle holders and polishers. The men's working clothes, as all other clothes, were repaired carefully and patched where necessary. Trousers were repatched when earlier repairs became worn and mending a hedge tear was regarded as a routine task. By the thirties, collar attached shirts were having the collars reversed when they showed signs of wear.

For a woman there was community status to be gained, by her skill with needles. Cyril's mother was known by all in the community as "a good knitter" and Isa recalled with pride that her mother, "Use t' knit arl oor stockn's." She was also careful to point out that her mother had a sewing machine, obviously a status symbol of considerable consequence.

However, mentioning it, did not invoke the pride she exhibited when she boasted:

A canna rememba gannin' t' school wiv holey stockings. An' A've heard me brothers say they w' niva badly shod, an' niva had holey backsides (seat of their trousers). Y' kna what A mean, there was a lot o' lads with holes in th' britches i' them days.

Summer frocks for mothers and daughters (cohort I & some of II) were for the main part sewn by hand from cotton fabric which was bought either in Bellingham at Allan's shop, from a traveller, or, occasionally in Hexham on market day. Financial considerations constituted a controlling factor in the matter of new clothes, even in being able to buy the material to make them. When possible, a new dress was made for the annual picnic and, in the thirties, for the Sunday School trip to Whitley Bay. "Hand-me-downs" were widely used. Biddy, who recalled being sewn into brown paper for the winter, explained, "It w's nearly al' cast-offs. Y' kna we hadn't much then. We hed t' wear boots." Mothers, except on special occasions such as attending church, wore cotton overalls, bought more cheaply than they could be made, from the "pinnyman", who brought his case "round the doors" to sell his wares, which included haberdashery. Buying by mail order, was well established by the end of the nineteen-thirties, and occasional purchases were also being paid for at the rate of a shilling per week, as a member of a twenty strong club.

An improvement in the standard of clothing coincided, paradoxically, with the shortage of clothing materials caused by World War II. Women, whose ability to improvise and recycle had been developed pre-war, in response to poverty, found little obstacle in the restrictions imposed by clothing coupons during a period of improved

household economy. During the nineteen fifties, catalogue shopping was resumed and, together with visits to nearby shopping centres, it accounts for almost all the new clothing used by the villagers. Two shops do, however, sell selected items, mainly underwear, babies clothes and school uniforms. "Hand me downs", which include clothes from jumble sales and, more recently, car boot sales, are still used and nowadays, the current affluence allows these to be freely passed between households. However, most of the recycling of old materials has now ceased and very few community members make clothes for their families. The exceptions are those who happen to do so as part of a hobby or have outstanding abilities, and this is mainly confined to the provision of knitted garments. However, unpaid work does still continue in this sphere. Some of it could not be validly regarded as unpaid work in the present context, being, in effect, a present, or eliciting an almost immediate response, which could be considered payment in kind and much of it connects members of different household groups. For example someone will regularly knit garments for the children of a close friend, granny knits a child's socks until he/she reaches school age or a neighbour or relative offers to help with the dresses for a wedding.

HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT

The accepted attitude to housekeeping at the end of the nineteenth century can be surmised by referring to the local census returns of 1891. Where a widower or widow was head of a household, a female relative, a paid servant or the widow herself, where applicable, was named as housekeeper. This suggests that, at that point in historical time, a need for a housekeeper in every household was perceived,

irrespective of the status or the means of the head of the house. This need continued well into the present century and, in the majority of households, wives were, and still are, responsible for this unpaid work. An integral part of the kinship system, until the last two decades, was that, when only one member remained in a household of origin, then he or she would either be joined by another related household group, or alternatively, he or she would move in with relatives (see chapter 3). It was recognized as virtually impossible for one person to be responsible for all household tasks, on their own, until the seventies.

Before that time, the homes of all the survey subjects were managed by a mother, an aunt or a grandmother in the role of housekeeper. When the mother of the core family of a household was "housekeeper", the most common situation, her responsibilities included the provision of meals for all and the management of the budget within manual workers' families. All household members of these families in cohort I and most of those in cohort II were expected to hand their pay packets, unopened, to "mother". Pocket money was by negotiation. Her housekeeping skills had important effects on the quality of life within the household. A "good manager" was valued and widely respected.

RESPONSIBILITIES IN AND AROUND THE HOME

Unpaid work around and in the home was primarily the concern of the household group. However, as in the case of care (chapter 5), relatives, friends, neighbours and, in some cases, other community members also assisted. Household groups often included more than one adult female. At some stage, twenty-nine survey subjects shared their childhood homes with an adult other than their parents. In the majority of cases it was

a grandparent, an older sibling or a maid living within the household group and able to act as an unpaid assistant to the accepted "housekeeper".

The Working Environment for Most Unpaid work

Villagers homes, the site of the bulk of unpaid work during the first half of this century, were pre-dominantly of one or two roomed dwellings, and included those above stables, shops and other work places and houses built into the steep hill-side. Some four roomed cottages were occupied by two families, each family having one living room and one bedroom on either side of a shared staircase. Most of the housing, the property of private landlords including the Duke of Northumberland, was very basic and in a poor state of repair. The dwellings provided little more than stone shelters with windows and one door. They had slate or pan-tiled roofs and some had stone flagged floors. A few had "back kitchens" but the only cooking facility was an open fire, which incorporated an oven, in the "kitchen".

In some cases this was the only room but most families also had a bedroom. The low rows of Duke of Northumberland's one roomed cottages, had sleeping quarters in the lofts. Access was by a wooden step ladder placed below a hole in the ceiling of the living room. The lofts had one tiny window under the eaves. These dwellings had communal taps, shared 'netties' and open ash pits "out the back". The artificial light was by paraffin lamp or candles, which were usually supplied by the Bellingham "candle house". In general, living space was severely limited. For instance, at the end of last century, three of these adjacent cottages were rented as a home for a railway labourer and his wife, who provided permanent lodgings for eighteen people. This group included a widower of

seventy-six, four married couples, a family of three, two bachelors and an extended family consisting of a man, his wife, his child, and his father. Such were the conditions in which the unpaid duties of the women were carried out.

Johny, whose childhood, during the thirties, was spent in one of these cottages commented, "We weren't weel off like the folk doon Burnside. They had gas lamps an' water closets." The Burnside houses, to which he referred, had only one door, were subject to regular flooding by the burn and Tyne, had a single gas lamp in the kitchen, the only downstairs room and only one other room, a bedroom. Their water closets, which were shared, lay away from the houses beside the grave-yard. Johny, recalled, "Y' cud hear the rats 'n mice scuttlin' oot the way when they heard y' comin'." The homes of the community group also included farm houses and the few private stone built houses in their own grounds, more salubrious working conditions for the women of the household.

There was a remarkable similarity between the childhood homes of most members of cohorts I and II and Burnett's (1978) description of an 1815 cottage. His comments which note the overcrowding, the darkness, the dampness and the inconvenience of the structures are echoed in the memories of older members. The "kitchen", the room which housed the fireplace, was the scene of high activity. All cooking was done on the fire or in the attached oven. It was the only source of heat and was the sole means of heating "flat irons". During the cold days of winter, it was a source of warmth but the necessity of its use during warm weather could cause more than a little discomfort, and doors often stood wide open.

CHAPTER 6 - ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

Legislation had empowered Local Authorities to build houses for low income groups at the end of the nineteenth century, and following the Housing Act of 1919, subsidies were on offer until the thirties, to both councils and private builders, to provide decent housing to be offered at low rents, but there was little response in Bellingham. Rent control, imposed by the same act, made it difficult to evict sitting tenants and virtually impossible to increase rents. Consequently, most of the housing, built in the nineteenth century was very run down.

In an effort to get rid of slums, in the early thirties, Local Authorities were asked to survey all housing in their area and prepare plans to abolish all slums within five years. Subsidies on offer were only paid if occupants of demolished properties were given alternative accommodation at low rents. Although half of the national slum clearance was completed between 1934 and 1939, the scheme submitted for Bellingham was delayed because of Ministry of Health objections (Hexham Courant, 1932). In total, eight semi detached council houses were built in 1936 on the outskirts of the village and the work house outbuildings were converted into four dwellings. Further improvement ensued when electricity was installed in most houses, in two phases during the thirties and the installation was paid for by the householders, by means of a temporary increase in the basic tariff. This was the onset of a labour saving phase for the housewives of the village.

Dramatic changes took place in rural housing between 1948 and 1970. A rapid building programme, of council houses, was initiated. This was supplemented, in the sixties, by grants being made available to improve rural housing. Cohort III and their contemporaries have, therefore, had the advantage of homes which were neither subject to the

gross overcrowding problems suffered by their parents and forbears nor have they been short of basic amenities. They have had, in addition, the use of a separate kitchen and a bathroom. In general, houses have also become easier to clean and better appointed, a distinct improvement for women who provide the bulk of household unpaid work.

THE DAILY ROUTINE

The topography of the district greatly increased the burden needed to service dwellings earlier this century. Bellingham is built on the hillside and this added to the degree of difficulty experienced during the course of much of the unpaid work. Domestic chores were no exception to this. The gradient of the land on which these homes were built was such that access was even, in some cases, up flights of worn stone steps. All water used in most of the homes of cohort I and some of cohort II was carried in galvanized buckets from nearby communal taps and wells. Most of this was also carried out again, in the form of any waste water from washing, washing up, laundering clothes and the contents of chamber pots or commodes. Some was disposed of via a sink, one of which was within a few yards of most of the houses. For others, the burn ran behind the homes and this was a well used means of disposal. Others, who were close to neither the burn nor a sink, emptied the contents of the chamber pots, buckets and slop pails into the ash pits. These were buildings which broadly served the purpose of large communal dust bins. Much of the household garbage which ended up there did so as part of the ashes from house fires. Urine was often collected in old water butts to be used as garden fertilizer. Irrespective of the particular method used, the disposal of all household waste represented

much extra work, compared with that of the present day.

The ash pits were emptied regularly by local smallholders, the "midden men", so called because they were also responsible for emptying the ash closets which were the only form of lavatory available to some members of the community. The local council paid for this refuse collection until they provided a service vehicle with its own staff, in the late fifties. Then, each householder was expected to use a dust bin, which was collected and emptied by the newly instituted service.

Shared lavatories were the norm for most villagers before the sixties. The exceptions were people who lived away from the village on farms or small holdings, and some of the minority of middle class residents, who were the only villagers to have the advantage of bathrooms. Isa, a member of cohort I, recalled that, when she returned from school she was concerned with providing hot water for her brothers, "...the lads comin' in from the pit." As part of the process the "pit bath use 't' come oot." This was a large zinc bath hanging on a nail on the outside wall. The reason for this was, she explained:-

They hed t' be weshed, an' there was nee bath in them days, just the zinc 'n. We hed the boiler t' fill an' we hed t' keep the boiler gannin' cos there were two o' them t' bath.

Occasionally the bath was put to a secondary use for, as she recalled:-

There was whiles some dorty pit things (working clothes) t' steep. A hed t' hev somebody t' help t' tak it away an' empty it doon the sink, A could n' manage 't arl misel.

For most members of cohorts I and II, as Isa's comments indicate, any hot or warm water needed had to be heated by the one fire in the household. Depending on the quantity required, this would be done by using either a kettle, a saucepan or the set-pot. This was a large, lidded, bowl shaped boiler which was part of the "kitchen fireplace",

and occupied a similar position to that of the oven, on the other side of the fire. As with the oven, efficient operation depended upon the correct use of a flue, and, therefore, the fire had to be "bottomed" daily. The ashes were carefully raked out of the fireplace and then carried out of the house. A new fire was laid, lit and kept alight throughout the long day, every day. This necessitated the carrying of a supply of coal, peat or sticks.

Rice commented that the work of working-class wives was unorganised (1939,p.20). This could not be further from the truth when applied to the village. One of the characteristics of housework, was the almost obsessive adherence to routine, in the precise method of accomplishing a task, as well as the programme for carrying it out. Any deviation from a generally accepted strict code of practice would elicit advice and comments from someone at the time and stimulate censorious gossip later. However, any innovation which was seen to be superior, was quickly copied. Privacy has never been a characteristic of village life.

In the same room as the fireplace, young children were cared for, meals were eaten, dishes were washed, the laundry was dried, ironed and aired, the bread was baked, everything from mats to jams were made and, for most of the families of origin of cohorts I and II, it was also used as a bathroom, where men washed and shaved, and others bathed. In many cases, it doubled as an additional bedroom. This called for more than a little organization, a fact that does not seem to have been fully appreciated by Rice. Her suggested explanation that working class country women seldom had, "...enough crockery or cutlery for more than one meal and therefore it must be washed up before the next meal", applied only in a minority of cases (1981,p.151). The urgent need to

wash up after the meal was due to the need to clear away cutlery and crockery and so maximize restricted space on a table which was used as an ironing board, a kitchen table, a coffee table, an escritoire, a card table, a mat frame stand, and a scrubbing bench on washing day as well as a dining table. The amount of activity that was generated meant that jobs had to be tackled in a systematic way and the table cleared after each meal so that it could be used for something else, not least the preparation of food for the next meal.

In view of the severely restricted space available, it is not entirely surprising that, wherever practicable, the women and children tended to perform household tasks out-of-doors. For example, except during inclement weather, potatoes were scraped and peas shelled by people, gathered into impromptu outdoor work groups in their community enclave. According to age and opportunity, they would be seated on low walls, steps, kitchen chairs they had taken with them or on a communal seat. The most popular place for the woman of the house to "ploat" and draw a hen or skin and clean a rabbit, even in winter, was in the open doorway of the home. Fish or lettuces were also cleaned at the "well", under the running spring water or at the outside communal tap. "Hipp'ns", pieces of cloth which served as handkerchiefs, nappies or sanitary towels, were also, if convenient, given a preliminary rinse there.

Rice's comments (1981,p.151), that there was no-where to put cooked and uncooked food or cooking utensils suggests that she did not fully appreciate the living conditions. Members of cohort I & II explained that, in their childhood homes, the space under the stairs was used as a cold food store, dry food was kept in any suitable space that did not

impinge on the living area, for example, a large flour bin at the head of the stairs and home produced vegetables were stored in outhouses. Rabbits and hens were often hung outside on a steel spike driven into the wall above head height, until the end of the short period before they were used and hams and bacon, after curing, would be hung from hooks on the "kitchen" ceiling. Built in cupboards and any extra shelving that space would allow, such as in the "back kitchen" of houses lucky enough to have one or the inglenook, were generally used for utensils, crockery and cutlery. In a well run household, precautions were also taken, to minimize contamination by vermin. For example bread would be stored in a metal bread bin. Cakes and biscuits would be kept in tins.

In this environment, pest control was a problem, and, to a limited extent in the older houses, it still is. Earlier this century, almost every house had a cat to keep down the mice and rats. In addition, baited traps were laid under the stairs for the same purpose. Large black beetles, known locally as "blacklocks", scuttled away in the morning light, and methods involving beer were sometimes used to lure them into steep sided tins. If these traps worked, they made no apparent difference to the levels of infestation. Lengths of sticky fly papers were suspended from ceilings in an attempt to control insects such as houseflies, blow flies and wasps. During the early part of the survey period, improvements in daily life did occur but few of them penetrated the household routine to such an extent that they had any appreciable affect on the unpaid work which supported it.

Descriptions of household equipment from the third decade of this century present evidence of improvements in the lot of community

members. The newly introduced items included carpet sweepers and "jiffy" washing machines. Nevertheless, the unpaid work which was necessary for the smooth running of a home continued to generate a very heavy load and, since most of it was gender biased, it principally involved the female members of the household.

Children learned appropriate household skills early in life, because they were constantly observing in a working environment. It was tacitly understood that children kept "well back" from the fireside when food was being served or tea was being made. During this time they would be given tasks such as laying the table or calling other members of the family to the meal. However, accidents did occur. One subject, Joe, was scalded by a pan of potatoes (see chapter 5). The fact, that more accidents of this nature did not happen, is, perhaps, a testament to the organization and discipline within the homes of the group and the way in which all the older people of the household group took responsibility for the younger members.

The physical effort needed for household duties was very high in comparison with those of today. The large cast-iron fireplace, which was an integral part of most homes before the fifties, with its high grate, set pot, and integral oven had to be kept clean and polished. Cyril commented, "Ah 've whiles seen m' motha cry when she black-leaded, y'kna if sh'd had a rough day", and Kathy, on being told about a big blackleaded fire place at the Beamish Museum said, "Aye n' that's the best place for'd, A've seen ower much o' them in m' time." A considerable amount of work was also involved in polishing the fender, the tidy, coal rakes and poker. When recalling the effort involved in the regular use of "brasso" for this purpose, Biddy exclaimed, "Aye,

they diven't kna they're born, t'day!" In view of the fact that most of the villagers, who were questioned about the present methods of cleaning cookers, fireplaces and surrounds, reported that they used only a cloth, scouring powder and liquid detergent, Biddy's comment is understandable.

Even standard housework tasks of today were much more demanding in the context of the homes of cohorts I & II. For instance, because of the smoke and ash from the fire and the dirt from the workmen's clothes, boots and clogs, dust accumulated quickly. Consequently, the kitchen needed to be dusted daily and the heavy home-made mats were taken outside and shaken vigorously every day. The door mats were, also, slapped hard against the wall. Today's equivalent of this is using a duster, an aerosol polish spray and a vacuum cleaner once or twice per week.

It is small wonder that the housewives of the thirties and forties needed the assistance of other members of their household groups almost as much as their predecessors at the turn of the century. The women and some of the men of cohorts I & II said helping with the housework was an integral part of their childhood. Dusting, polishing the brasses, laying the table, washing up, drying, putting the dishes away and carrying water, sticks and coal, ironing small items and folding clothes were given as their most regular tasks. Doris explained, "A didn't mind weshin' the dishes but niva dryin'. Weiva dried in wore hoose, put th'm away as weel." Even these tasks, for which children's assistance was sought, were reduced by the introduction of hot water systems, electric irons, mains water supplies, electric and calor gas heating, paper tissues, crease resistant clothes and the fall from favour of household brasses.

CHAPTER 6 - ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

The rate of change of village life, which incorporated this move towards less labour intensive housework, began to accelerate at the beginning of the nineteen fifties and this pace of change continued until at least the middle of the nineteen eighties. Cohort III members, for example, regarded the labour saving devices of today, such as electric kettles and electric irons, as standard equipment in their childhood homes. The same group accepted the use of disinfectants, insecticides and the use of "wipe-clean" cooking benches as standard. During this period, conditions also improved in response to the wider implementation of preventive medicine, the introduction of public health programmes and the rising levels of expectation of the public at large (see chapter 5).

THE WEEKLY ROUTINE

Washing day

For the most part, housework conformed to a regular pattern. Monday was washing day but the washing might be "put back to tuesday" in the case of wet weather. During a spell of exceptionally bad weather, a week might even be missed but such an occurrence was rare. Such an eventuality posed real problems before the fifties, where incomes did not support the maintenance of more than two sets of clothing. It would mean that underwear and shirts were worn for a fortnight instead of a week.

A small group of villagers, the people who lived in "the Square", including some of the survey subjects' families, were privileged in that they had the use of a shared wash house. Only one survey subject, Joan, recalled her family having their own outside wash house, an exceptional

circumstance. A more accurate reflection of the situation was provided by Will, who remembered that his mother and aunt Peggy did their washing together, "...'n ootside ivery time, nee matta what the weather was like." This practice was not unusual before the introduction of washing machines.

The demands of washing day were such that help from any quarter was accepted. Because of the gender bias, with regard to the division of household tasks, girls were more closely concerned with the work involved but Joe told of his being "kept off school" to turn the mangle. Doris remembered the routine very clearly, including the early start to the day, commenting:-

> Mi mother was up afore it w's leet. W' had t' tak the mats up an' get the poss tub 'n the mangle oot o' the coal hoose. Bye it was hard work. Al' the clothes had t' be sorted int' piles, so y' could wesh the whites fost, then the coloureds, then owld work clothes and then the rest.

Biddy gave more detail about "the rest", adding, "The likes o' hippin's and then floor cloots (floor cloths) 'n such like".

The washing continued throughout the whole day. The white clothes were boiled in an iron pan on the fire or in the set pot and then they were subject to the same routine as the others. They were possed, a load at a time, in the tub (usually an old beer barrel) with soap and washing soda, the whites with the addition of a blue bag, scrubbed, washed again and then "put through the mangle". After all the clothes had been washed in the correct order, the tub was refilled with clean water and the process was repeated without soap, to rinse them. After a second rinse, they were carried in a large wicker basket to be pegged out on a clothes line, spread over a hawthorn hedge or laid in the meadow, depending on the availability of facilities, the preferences of the

housewife and, on occasions, the weather. This allowed whites to bleach in the sun. Christine explained, "Many a time it came on t' rain. Iverybody ran. Nana, me motha, Peggy...We al' got soaked."

The only break during washing day was for cold meat (the remains of the sunday joint) and boiled potatoes in the middle of the day. This was at variance with Rice's respondent who states that there was,"...no time for dinner on Monday" (1981,p.160). When this was suggested to the survey subjects in cohorts I and II they were incredulous. Rene suggested, "Mebbe y've got the rang end o' the stick, did sh' not mean nee time for a proper dinner?"

Before the introduction of sophisticated fabric treatments and synthetic materials, all the clothes had to be ironed. The flat irons, used for this process, were heated on the side of the fire. By then, at the end of the normal working day, help would be available to fold the newly ironed garments and transfer them to a clothes horse or overhead ropes, which were put in place on washing day to air or dry the clothes. It was not unusual for a father to help with the folding of some of the larger items such as sheets for, "He wanted t' get them oot o' the way", as more than one respondent suggested. During unfavourable weather, the process sometimes dragged on for three or four days before it was fully completed and the clothes had been safely put away in the all-press.

Washing methods changed radically in a comparatively short space of time, when the easing of supplies of household goods occurred after World War II. With the exception of members of the minority of people who lived in their own property, any kind of washing machine was a rarity until the nineteen fifties. For example, only one of the mothers of cohort II had one, a second hand manually operated "Jiffy". However,

the mothers of all members of cohort III owned or had access to an electric machine. Raymond explained, "Mam 'n Nana used t' do the washing together in mam's new washing machine, down the back (back kitchen)."

Baking Day

Before the fifties, washing day was recognized as the hardest day of the week but another time of increased activity, was baking day. In most households this occurred mid-week. It furnished the household with a weekly supply of bread and occasionally added extra variety to the family diet by providing tea-cakes. On that day, special attention was paid to the oven temperature, not only to regulate it but, in the absence of any kind of thermometer or gauge, to assess it so that baking times could be judged and bread moved, as appropriate, in order to adjust the rate of cooking. The oven needed careful management. Jackie recalled that his mother tested the temperature with her elbow, held near the open door, whilst Norman mentioned that this was done with the open hand and Johny recalled his mother spitting on the door. To prevent the fire under the oven becoming too compacted with coal ash and blocking the flue, during a critical part of the cooking time something which would produce no cinder, for instance an old shoe or a block of wood, was forced in. This, in common with many other aspects of the housewife's work, required physical effort, skill and, especially during hot weather, endurance.

Flour was bought in much larger quantities than it is today. It was unusual to buy less than a stone. At least one member of cohort II, lived in a household group in which it was purchased by the one hundred weight sack, a practice which was beyond the economic resources of most of the villagers. Marget mentioned that her mother baked two stones of

flour at a time. The dough was mixed, with live yeast, in a very large glazed earthenware bowl, the size of which would, today, be more likely to be seen on a patio than in a kitchen. After kneading, the dough was put to "rise" (prove) in a large enamelled dish, under a damp cloth, on the fender in front of the fire. When it had risen, it was kneaded again, put in to loaf tins and set to "rise" again before it was put into the oven. After the bread had cooled and had been turned out of the loaf tins, in addition to the daily chores, the extra clearing up and washing up connected with the baking had to be faced. One of the standard treats of the week was freshly baked "stotty cake" with butter and jam. This was bread dough which was spread out on the bottom of the oven. It cooked and cooled very quickly, taking up very little room in the oven, since it fitted under a very low bottom shelf. It only needed one "rising" and could be eaten hot, ensuring that bread was available for the main evening meal, even if the main batch was not quite ready for slicing.

Depending on factors which were often extrinsic to the household, for instance the luck of the local poacher or a little extra cash being available, the baking board was brought out, again, to make pastry or scones. For festive occasions, sly cake, a pastry sandwich containing a layer of currants and a layer of sliced apple was also made. This would extend over the full width and length of an oven shelf, which was used as a baking tray. Baking and pastry making on this scale continued throughout the early part of the survey period, altered only by the minor increase in affluence that took place, until the end of the thirties and the restricted supplies associated with World War II. Abrupt change was prompted by the introduction of bread units during the

period of national food shortage after the war. The housewives soon realized that, in terms of quantity, there was a considerable advantage to be had by using these to buy bread rather than flour and found that their new levels of purchasing power allowed them to do so. This seemed to be the catalyst which brought about changes in baking patterns, and the widespread home baking of bread ceased abruptly. Today, the bakery sells so much bread that it is unable to cope with the village demand and extra is bought in, daily.

Shaving

It was general practice for men, early this century, to shave with cut-throat razors for the week-end and occasionally mid-week, also. It was a major household task. Johny explained:

> Whey y' kna what it wis like Hinny. His tackle hed to be fetched from the drawer of the all-press an' al' laid oot fo' him. The razor hed t' be sharpened. Mind, he hed plenty o' sharpening leathers...but Hinny he niva used them. He took off his leather belt an' one of us hed t' howld the end. Then he sharpened it...back an' forards, back an' forards. As a bairn A used t' close me eyes. Then it wis left near the lookin' glass an' neebody, neebody would dare go near. Me motha hed to hev the kettle boiled and me fatha hed a good wesh in the dish... his hands, his face and mebbe his neck. Then he would shave. Neebody dare speak. 'N then there'd be a greet golla 'n we'd al' rush t' give him a bit o' paper...newspaper, 'n he'd lick it 'n stick it on the cut. Neebody looked forward t' shavin' night. If A could get oot, A did.

With the introduction of safety razors, followed by electric razors, shaving can now be regarded as an integral part of personal hygiene. Other regular tasks which were part of the weekly work load, such as polishing furniture, cleaning windows and preparing "the sunday dinner" have continued throughout the survey period, although more advanced materials and improved domestic technology have lightened the work. Polishing fireplace furniture and candle sticks no longer exists in

modern homes and the scrubbing and whitening of the front steps on a saturday morning and swilling the flagged areas in front of the houses, is no longer considered necessary.

OCCASIONAL WORK AND SEASONAL WORK IN THE HOME

Important though the weekly routine was, other work was necessary for the well-being of the household group. Although much of it might be seen as part of a cyclical pattern of demands on their time, it was not part of a strict routine in the same sense as the daily laying of the fire, the weekly wash or the annual planting of the garden. Little of this, unless it was directly connected with the garden, was acknowledged as the responsibility of men, except chopping sticks, from firewood which others had collected. There were exceptions to this, but very few. For example, Isa proudly claimed, "Me fatha could put irons on wor clogs", Theresa mentioned that her father put on soles and heels from Woolworths and Will, that hob nails were put in his boots and studs and segs in his sister's shoes.

During the first half of this century, after the frantic activity needed to deal with autumn fruit and garden produce, winter, the time for making mats, was a less stressful time. However, just as a woman might decide to wash her stays more than once, or miss the process in the event of purchasing a new pair, so illness or child birth could easily disrupt or delay the annual renewal of mats. This mat making was another skill which was passed on down the generations. The preparations started after "the nights had drawn in." For the main part all the family sat around the fireside cutting "mat clouts" or "clippin's" and filling cardboard boxes. Children were allocated jobs which were part of

the process. Even the toddlers were introduced to it and allowed to mix the "clipp'ns" to produce a random selection of colours which were needed for the multi-coloured effects used for filling in some bits of the pattern. Strong canvas was sewn in to the mat frame, using a heavy-duty braid which was attached to the frame with carpet tacks. The canvas was then stretched taut, using cross pieces which were held in position, in slots in the frame, by wooden pegs or nails. The frame was rested on two convenient pieces of furniture and "clippings" were stobbed (knotted) or hooked (threaded) into the canvas, using a "progger". Mother, occasionally accompanied by relations and neighbours who called in for "a few minutes", would spend any spare time during the day, matting. It was too cold to gather at their usual meeting places, such as by the tap or the seat and the mat frames became a temporary social focus. During the long evenings, mother was helped by children, the younger ones keen "to have a go" in order to display their accomplishments, and in some rare cases, by father. Biddy, recounting her father's efforts, indicated the gender bias associated with the activity, explaining, "But mind he arlwus locked the door afore he started."

The end of winter brought spring cleaning, the precise time of which was affected by the weather and other disruptions of the accepted routine. Blankets and curtains were washed. Shelves were cleared, washed and recovered with paper. Ceilings were whitewashed and indoor paintwork, not due for re-painting, was cleaned. A new layer of paper was put on yearly or when it could be afforded. The walls of most homes, before the fifties, were in such a bad condition that the old paper was not often stripped. The very few, who could afford it, called in the

paper-hanger. Others, who lacked the necessary ability, would be helped by a neighbour, meals might be provided and there could be some reciprocal arrangement. By the time of the childhood of cohort III, this type of work was very different. Vacuum cleaners and washing machines, which had become a part of standard household equipment and used on a regular basis, reduced the need for seasonal work. For example, by then, help was needed to carpet floors, paint ceilings and tile walls. Men, from the fifties onwards, having more leisure time, were able to take an active part in these new activities and the making of mats was no longer a part of the household economy. Today, much of the decorating for the elderly is paid for by "Social Security" but wives of younger men are likely to be helped by husbands.

Developing affluence, because of the type of tasks associated with the male role, brought the fathers of members of cohort III's generation inside the house to exercise both their skill and judgement, and this aspect of unpaid work is now firmly established. This provides men with additional responsibility inside the house. Better working conditions have decreased the proportion of men's lives committed to their employment and thus allows them more time to increase their input in this area. When men do engage in this indoor unpaid work it is, almost invariably, confined to tasks which are, according to community standards, gender biased such as D.I.Y. activities. Kitchen cabinets now need to be hung, some modern items of furniture need to be assembled and pieces of electrical apparatus need to be installed. Most community members have avoided professional charges for at least some of these tasks.

As movement towards greater home ownership has been accomplished,

structural changes in houses and work premises have been readily undertaken by the whole household group. Margaret said, "We're re-modellin' the house. Well, A've done the graft. The muck! Strippin' down doors...." Kathleen, on the other hand, explained how the cafe premises had been given a face lift, before they opened. "Johny 'n Chez did most o' the hard work. Christine came up an' helped. Aye, an' Pat Brown, an'...." Thus, husbands past and present were involved, her daughter, long-term friends and.....

Two members of the survey group, an insurance salesman of cohort I and a self employed wagon driver of cohort III, have even extended this activity to building their own houses. Mary said, "The Bellingham Dramatic Society has provided a lot of hard work and a lot of laughs. My husband joined in 1946 and I became a member later. They helped us to build this house." The other survey subject had spent some time, between self-employed work, helping Weightmans to construct bungalows along the Boat Road. He explained, "Me fatha hed this bit o' land so we got permission 'n we al' put it up." Thus, they both accomplished this by using partially prefabricated "kit form" houses which have been available since the nineteen-fifties and readily admitted that they had received considerable help, in the form of unpaid work from "everyone round about". Nevertheless, D.I.Y on anything approaching this scale is not usual, even against the background of mutual support which characterizes the Bellingham community.

CHANGE

Demand for unpaid work

Finch suggests that:

CHAPTER 6 - ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

So far as structures of family support are concerned, the fact that people are more likely than in the past to live independently of their relatives does not imply that they are not giving each other quite substantial support. But it does remove some of the opportunities which present themselves when sharing a household....(1989,p.111).

An increase in the demand for unpaid work between households, in Bellingham, means that a considerable amount of free time from employment is being channelled in this direction. This is linked to the proliferation of independent household groups compared with former times, and impinges on the discussion of care, in chapter five. Those villagers, such as the elderly, whose personal circumstances would have, in the earlier part of the survey period, meant that they were incorporated into the household of a member of their kin group, today, choose to stay on their own. Maintenance of such a life-style, however, requires tremendous support from the state, as well as organisation and continuous bolstering by kin and neighbours. It is a very much more time consuming form of caring than the earlier system. The care of one person, who assumes that he/she is independent, impinges on the lives of several households groups or may make considerable demands on one. For instance, Gillian explained:-

A do all of Mam's washin'. A bring it over here, wash it, dry it, iron it an' air it. Then A go over once o' twice a week. A do her bedroom and a general clean through. A bake fo' her as well and when its decoratin'time A go an' decorate....An' A do quite a bit o' shoppin'. We al' pop ower at week-ends. A do as much for Neil's mother. Ivery day he goes down. Ivery day. 'N we have her up for tea....Y' see she can't walk up on her own...'nd her dinner at the week-end. Ivery Sunday. Neil goes down fo' her in the car....

Thus, in such situations, all the usual household activities have to be covered by outside agencies, state or community, and other work must be covered, also. For instance, involved household groups enlarge gardening programmes and arrange expeditions in the car to cover the needs of a

widowed father, mother or grandparent, particularly to make use of visiting hours at hospitals. For the main part, such unpaid work is less strenuous than in the past, but it is very much more time demanding.

Before World War II, most of the community unpaid work, such as being a councillor, was dominated by the landed gentry. The self-employed men, had a heavy work load acting as unpaid under-bearers. Increasingly, since that time, complete funeral arrangements have been provided by outside agencies and councils are made up of a cross section of the public. Women have also become involved in council work, as well as in many newly instituted national groups such as "Age Concern" and local work groups instituted to clean the churches and chapel. Much of this support for change has been fronted by the local Women's Institute.

Gender bias and household commitment

It seems reasonable to suppose that the relative affluence of today, against a background of improved communications, in the form of both entertainment and news media has played a major part in change. An increase in disposable incomes has increased not only household possessions but their regular turn-over, also. The retail industry has responded to this and introduced a new factor into the equation needed to balance income with outgoings. For example, in the early part of this century, a husband knew his wife had overspent a very short time after it had happened, probably because, following the local shops categorizing her as a "bad payer", the quality and size of his meals would be drastically reduced. If the husband was similarly profligate, his wife knew it, since the extent to which he could operate "on the slate" at the local pub or with the "bookie's runner" would not only be limited but well known throughout the community and restrict credit in

various areas of activity. Nowadays this is not so. The use of credit facilities such as hire purchase, credit cards and particularly mail order purchase, mean that either partner may now create a grave financial crisis before the other is aware of the problem. Perhaps the current trend towards a more informed opinion about each other's activities, which in earlier years were regarded as strictly "his business", or "her business", owes something to these more recent dangers of financial pitfalls. How much this could be seen as a case of husband and wife checking on each other and how much they would feel they were uniting against a threat from the financial sector is open to interpretation.

Such changes have also been accompanied by an increase in the level of expectations. In earlier times, men had little time for leisure pursuits in the form of hobbies unless they were productive, such as horticulture, fishing or poaching and few possessions under their own control except gardening tools or fishing rods. Obtaining the wireless was reported by most survey subjects of cohorts I and II as being an expensive venture which necessitated an input from "pocket money" as well as "the housekeeping". Jackie (cohort II) commented, "Aye it took a bit o' gettin'. Al' of 's had t' pitch in," and the father's personal investment reinforced his desire to listen to it, especially to the news and the weather forecast which, in the survey area, still carries the kind of hallmark which is concomitant with macho dignity. Their successors have had progressively more spare time and families more personal spending power. For instance, Bill showed off his stainless steel spade, to which birthday present, all household members had contributed. Common equipment in today's homes, such as radios, tape

recorders, hi-fi equipment, video recorders and television now cater for increased leisure.

However, since these comparatively recent arrivals in homes are based indoors, the traditional domain of women, at a time when the household groups are less complicated, the authority of the mother figure of the family group is now more intrusive with regard to male leisure time. The acceptable reasons for a father to be indoors has multiplied as sport has become a major part of both television and radio programmes. When he stays indoors, he is no longer liable to be suspected of unmanly pursuits such as winding wool or polishing the furniture. Gradually, other reasons for staying closer to home and cooperating more closely with his wife, have arisen. The ownership of an improved means of transport has reinforced this change, fathers having raised their aspirations from bicycles and motor bicycles to cars which concern the whole family. Nowadays, if a man runs a car, for instance, it is likely that, he will need support at times of financial pressure such as help with road tax, insurance or repairs. Alan explained that his mother, living in another household, paid such expenses. Michael mentioned that his grandmother paid for his motor-bykes and car. Raymond's father's pleasure was modified when he displayed his recently acquired second hand car. When asked about his slightly muted enthusiasm, he said of his wife, "A teld her the other 'n was best n' Tommy said as weel- 'n he's a mechanic t'trade - but sh' wad hev us get this 'n cos it was a nice pale blue." The same kind of implied partnership also means that established practices are subject to alteration without loss of male dignity, even if imposed is the unpaid work implied with providing a taxi service. In such circumstances, a man

can now take his wife out on sunday afternoon, a practice previously confined to courting couples, or take part in, with the rest of the family, a shopping trip. Such occurrences do, after all, underline the status associated with car ownership.

CONCLUSION

During the period being examined, there has been an obvious re-adjustment of the earlier perceptions of the work in and around the home which was accepted as the responsibility of the men and that which was, by general consensus, for women's hands only. This trend may be largely ascribed to the influence of a national change which has occurred during the course of societal development this century. Its implementation has only been possible because of a general improvement in the quality of life which has resulted from by products of the same main period of development. The evolution of low priced technology has reduced the time taken, level of skill demanded and hard physical work needed for many tasks in the home. For example, the availability of convenience foods and labour saving devices has drastically reduced the work involved in producing a substantial meal and laundering clothes.

World War II was a cue for change and signalled the beginning of a new era, the end of earlier forms of exploitation of manual workers and an onset of improvements in working conditions and living standards. The constant fight against poverty and the ever-present fear of destitution disappeared from the village. Present children and young adults have been brought up in a relatively affluent society, offering suitable housing with adequate amenities, secondary education for all and a choice of training and employment conditions which would not have been

dreamed of, during the childhood of cohorts I and II.

There have been obvious changes in unpaid work, including the precise activities involved, as well as the methods employed to accomplish them. Much of this modification is the result of adjustments in community life or a reflection of increased affluence during the survey period. These adjustments include a mutation of the basic organizational pattern of unpaid work. The commitments and effects, which were at the beginning of the century, largely confined within one household extend, in a longitudinal fashion, to other households especially to those of other members of the kinship group. This stresses the importance of unpaid work in the role of bonding between family members and different sections of the social groups.

One particular aspect of the organization of unpaid work, however, has clearly persisted. Transient community work parties continue to form within one particular group or span several. Largely unprompted, people amalgamate, some providing straightforward unpaid work and others offering mainly support, perhaps in the form of materials or advice. They are motivated by obvious need and disperse when this has been satisfied, in the same informal way. Groups change, in both size and actual membership in response to the nature of the task in hand and the availability of basic requirements such as expertise, apparatus, and resources. As with other aspects of unpaid work in the community, the main direction of expansion in unpaid work continues and the support it gives to the flexibility of community life is undiminished. However, the gender change has been dramatic. Men have been drawn to spend more time within the household and with members of their own household group during their leisure time. Women, on the other hand, who spent all, or

most of their time, before World War II in their own households, are increasingly being drawn outwards into the community. Children, who were expected to cover a large part of the work load in and between household groups, earlier this century, are, today, cushioned by such overlapping membership.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EMPLOYMENT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on change in the local economy, this century, including the ways in which household groups operated as economic units and individuals made a living. Attention is also paid to the effects, on the local economy, of various aspects of work and their ultimate effect on the community. As opposed to chapters 5 and 6, which dealt with facets of unpaid work such as caring and self sufficiency, this chapter is concerned with employment in the more orthodox sense. The theory, for the main part, centres on available local records such as census data, an updated local survey conducted in 1987 (Thornton, 1987), and substantiated material collected from the survey subjects, including childhood recollections concerning their parents' circumstances. Particulars of the first jobs obtained by the survey subjects and other relevant details of their subsequent employment patterns are also examined. Due regard is paid to the effect on community employment opportunities of some of the more immutable conditions, such as the topography of its environs and the characteristics of its geographical situation (see chapter 2). Changing land use, developing transport, increasing government intervention and population trend are considered because of their correlation with employment.

Explanation is also sought for the apparent stability of the local economy as opposed to the comparatively wide variations of job opportunities and wage escalation which seemed to characterize the national situation during the same period of historical time. Throughout this century, unemployment has been comparatively rare in the Bellingham district. Villagers point out that the one or two individuals who are

unemployed prefer it that way. Poor working conditions and low wages have generally been the lot of the community membership throughout this century. At times, this has been despite much more favourable conditions and far higher temporary wages locally and in other parts of the country. However, jobs were rarely scarce. For instance, when the number of unemployed peaked at 22.8% of the insured population in 1932, and the industrial North East was particularly affected (Byrne, 1974), there was always some employment in the district. When the threat of unemployment emerged again in the late seventies and eighties, triggered by the world oil crisis, as cohort III and their contemporaries were seeking employment for the first time, again, according to the census figures of 1981, there was little unemployment locally and eight miles distant, at Otterburn, where some Bellingham residents were employed, there was none recorded.

The construction of Kielder Dam, during the seventies and eighties, created many more unskilled jobs than the local work force could satisfy and high wages, free transport and accommodation were on offer to job applicants from within and outside the district. Additional employment was spawned in a variety of spheres. The most obvious was an increase in the service industries, as the requirements of the work force provided a diversity of opportunities for local people and for entrepreneurs who "came and went". As part of a well established trend, the local economy also accommodates brief booms in the service industries when they respond to the sporadic requirements of the personnel at Otterburn Camp, whose numbers occasionally swell, due to the influx of large numbers of troops attending short courses.

At the beginning of the period under examination, waged work, which

has been available throughout the research period, was, for the main part, either residential or on a day labouring basis. The success of the household economy depended, heavily, upon a degree of self-sufficiency, and some household groups, those including the craftsmen and tradesmen for example, were able to live comfortably without their members receiving any form of formal weekly wage or salary. The members were, never-the-less, gainfully employed, though not in waged work. Their needs were serviced and any profits from a family's joint efforts tended to be re-invested in the business. There is some evidence that this way of life still operates, although to a very small extent. Today, provision by the state provides a necessary prop for the local economy. This extends, particularly for the increasing number of retired, to providing the total monetary income for some of the household groups.

THE LOCAL ECONOMY

The expectation that major changes at a national and international level would have had an effect on the local economy is a reasonable assumption. However, during the early part of the survey period, the consequences of fluctuations at that level seem to have been muted by the time they had been relayed to the community. For instance, the recruitment drive instituted for the Boer War intruded into village life when a detachment of the Northumberland Fusiliers consisting of a captain, a surgeon lieutenant and sergeant drill instructor were installed in the Bellingham drill hall. Their efforts enlisted thirteen yeoman and twenty-one volunteers. These men were all fortunate enough to return unscathed. Therefore, this represented only a small temporary fall in the local labour force.

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

Rural communities were more economically independent at the turn of the century (see chapter 2). A much greater degree of self-sufficiency was apparent at all levels. Household groups purchased, either in cash or in kind, only those items or services which were beyond their ability to provide for themselves. Wherever reasonably possible, these additional needs were catered for by members of the village, supplemented by the efforts of others from the wider concept of the locality. Goods imported into the village, constituted a very much smaller proportion of trade than currently.

For instance, today, all milk for sale is brought into the village, whilst during the first half of this century there were seven milk rounds, selling the produce of local small-holdings and farms. In some cases deliveries were made twice each day, following morning and evening milking. Not everyone doing this kind of job had the benefit of a pony and trap. As late as the outbreak World War II, it was the practice of "old Mrs Wilkinson" to walk over, from the far side of the fell, with her fortnightly delivery of home-made butter, to her regular customers. Other farmers' wives sold butter and cream to the bakery. Much of this kind of trade was on a small scale and subject to fluctuations of supply and demand. For example when "Peggy's cow went dry", Biddy recalls that she walked for over a mile, with a gallon can, to buy skimmed milk. During some periods of the year, there was a steady trade in potatoes and swedes. In most cases these were bought to supplement the supply from the household garden (see chapter 6).

Although the most obvious goods imported into the village were factory products from other parts of the country, for example, mass produced kitchen utensils and raw materials for local craftsmen such as

the smith, the watch maker and the shoe maker, some food was also brought in. This is demonstrated by the items on a craftsman's household bill which was submitted at the turn of the century. It lists 3 stones flour, ½lb cheese, one cheese of 11½lbs, ½lb coffee, 5lbs sugar, as well as 1½lbs soda and 1½lbs soap and refers to their delivery by the local carrier. By this time a sewerage stood on the site earlier occupied by the Bellingham mill. However, other water mills in nearby villages continued to produce flour. Such trade is in accord with the findings of Bourne (1912). He stated that, at that time, the few finished goods or materials brought into population centres were chiefly clothing stuffs, metals, wines and groceries such as sugar, coffee, tea and spices.

Some requirements were partly serviced by two commercial travellers, one of whom, a son of the village general dealer, operated from his father's premises. The 1891 Census recorded the presence of twelve hawkers, two of whom were licensed. They included a hawker in woollen goods, three in draperies and one in general goods. Peddling without a licence was widespread and, in 1900, serial number 1226 of the Petty Sessions records a fine for such an offence. Although most of the hawkers who visited the village sold directly to the public, others supplied shops, filling the gaps left by the commercial travellers by supplying smaller quantities of goods without the delay between ordering and delivery by railway or carrier, which characterized the usual methods of supply.

Local trade

Before World War II, money changed hands between local tradesmen, farmers, estate owners and craftsmen on very few occasions. Goods were

delivered and work was done as a result of orders placed by word of mouth, sometimes through a third party, and accounts, made up in May and November, were presented or posted before the hiring marts. Meetings, which were partly social occasions, took place on hiring mart day at the end of each half year and the usual practice, when men had submitted bills to each other, was to pay the resulting balance. On occasions, this often involved only a very small amount of money or a cheque changing hands and virtually amounted to, a form of barter. No doubt this established method of payment later proved to be convenient for tax purposes, long before the term "black economy" was coined.

Occasional work was done for those who did not run accounts and credit to the term end would be allowed to credit worthy customers. This did not apply in the case of small amounts when, "ready money" was paid. Nor did it extend to manual workers, who were paid in cash. They were expected to pay "ready money" for most goods or services. However, shopkeepers and inn keepers ran "a slate" and regular customers were, near the end of the week, allowed limited credit until pay day. Since the social identity of community members also included a measure of their reliability and ability to budget, the tradesmen's risks in this kind of practice were minimal.

Bellingham offered local employers a source of employees in the form of some of its residents but it was usual for men to come into the village to seek work. This was a natural pattern considering the "hirings" which were part of the yearly village cycle, but it also extended to cover periods between these six monthly marts and was the usual practice for casual labourers seeking work. Three of the fathers of cohort I and two of cohort II's fathers were employed as casual

labourers and were paid on completion of the task in hand, or at the the end of each week if the piece of work extended beyond one week. They were little different from the day labourers in the 1870s described by Burnett as:-

> ...mainly employed on field work, which were necessarily seasonal in demand. They had no security of employment, being generally hired by the week or even by the day...and since they were only paid for work done, could expect to lose a proportion of their wages, especially in winter (1978,p.121).

An indication of the situation which obtained during the early part of the period under examination is given by details of the census of 1891. Two, of the thirty general labourers living in the village, were twenty-four year old married men who were boarders in village houses. This is in accord with Isa's comments that, "The men came inti' Bellingham t' find work an' if th' could get it they looked for a hoose." She remembered that, during the first years of this century, one came in, "...wi' nowt but a shull an' the clog on." Housing was not a problem during that time. From the mid nineteenth century, when the ironworks closed, a few of the Bellingham houses had always stood empty. Three terraces (Hutchinson, Little and Westmacot streets), which had been built to house iron workers, were eventually demolished, at the end of the nineteenth century, because of lack of prospective tenants. However, much of the land and many of the houses continued to be owned by the Duke of Northumberland, who maintained a full-time agent in the village. It was not until World War II brought evacuees, that every house, despite its condition, was occupied once more.

Agriculture & forestry

At the beginning of the century, the agricultural labour force was mainly resident in the farm houses or tied cottages and farming was

labour intensive. The Demesne farm which is now entirely run and worked by a farmer and her husband was then run by a widow and her two daughters and worked by two resident "sarvant lads" (general farm labourers - inside and outside the house), four hinds (labourers) and two boys. According to the 1891 census, there were eleven farmers, including two widows, who were running their own farms in Bellingham. Nineteen of the Bellingham men listed, in categories other than craftsmen or members of trades or professions, clearly outline the rural character of the area. They were six agricultural labourers, four farm labourers, two farm resident general servants, two grooms, a stable boy, and four shepherds. One of the shepherds, aged twenty, was then unemployed, which was probably evidence of the cyclical variation in the demands of life in rural areas.

Reference to Reeds' school log book during the same period clearly indicates that the population group composed of farm labourers was by no means a static one. The frequency with which their children were admitted or withdrawn from the school admission register was second only to that of the "Hoppins" (fairground) children, who joined classes every September when their parents came for the annual show. The entries also show that the farm workers tended to move within the very limited area of Northumberland, Durham and southern Scotland and, on occasions, returned to the same farms from which they had sought better conditions. Miss Milburn, a retired teacher, commented, "We worked hard with them and they 'flitted'. When they came back they were far worse than when they left." Emmett found that, in Wales, "In May and November, if they had disagreed with their masters they went to the fairs to be hired" (1964,p.10). Four of the ninety-three Bellingham women who worked were

employed by farmers in a non residential capacity. Two of these were engaged in general farm work only and the others were maids of all work around the farm house and buildings. They were engaged in field work during times of peak activity, but they still had to complete their domestic tasks. Marget's first hiring, a residential post, for twelve guineas per year, involved this wide range of duties. Similar positions were held by Doris (cohort I) during the twenties and the mother of Alan, a member of cohort II, during the nineteen thirties. The situation to which Pinchbeck (1930) refers, when she states that by the mid nineteenth century "..you never see a girl about in the field" (1930,p.110), clearly did not apply, locally, until much later in historical time.

Landed gentry were part of the countryside scene during the early part of the period being researched and the estates, in the Bellingham district, provided a considerable amount of employment. However, estate workers' jobs were usually residential posts and the 1891 census records only four village married men holding this kind of post, two woodsmen and two gardeners. Usually the marriage of an established member of staff, in the case of a man, would have prompted an estate owner to offer the tenancy of a tied cottage, if one was available. Much less frequently, with the permission of his employer, he would seek accommodation in the village. Thompson sums up the position of the landowners and workers, succinctly, "Capital wealth thus gave direct power to employ and to sack, to protect and to evict" (1975,p.13).

During the later part of the survey period, the employment provided by the land began to diversify. Today, the precise type of employment available in the area varies from holding to holding, according to land

usage, which is influenced by the whims of land owners and the type of government subsidy on offer. Part-time seasonal employment still exists in local agriculture. It is mainly generated by farming and only slightly increased by the requirements of the remaining local estates. Although increased mechanization has reduced the degree to which agriculture is labour intensive, its impact in the Bellingham district is limited. Sheep farms, some of which incorporate suckler cows, remain the pre-dominant agricultural units. They supply the majority of the stock which passes through Bellingham's two mart rings. Marts are held regularly between late autumn and early summer but, with the exception of two occasions when cattle are included, the sales are concerned with lambs and sheep only. A minor portion of the land in the area is now under local ownership. Most of the land in the area is owned by the Ministry of Defence and the Forestry Commission, which came to the area in 1926.

Improved transport allows men to take advantage of employment offered by the Forestry Commission, in the wilds of Northumberland, at sites over eight miles distant. Such employment offers better wages than farming but it has been, for the most part, exploited only by people whose working lives began during the later part of the survey period. Only one of the survey subjects' fathers, who had been a residential farm worker, became a forestry labourer in spite of the widely acknowledged "good money" on offer. Perhaps this is not surprising in view of Goldthorpe's findings that:-

> The new occupations as they emerge tend to pull men of a different generation- or more precisely, one might say, of a different birth cohort- from those whose employment has been downgraded or destroyed (1980,p.9).

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

So many youths wanted to join the work force that the Forestry Commission were in a position to make known that they would consider job applications from people over the age of sixteen only - even when the school leaving age was fourteen. Five survey subjects recalled that they were refused employment until after their sixteenth birthday.

Service Industries

One of the strands of change, during the course of the period being examined, has been a distinct shift of emphasis in respect of the bases, and mode of operation of local service industries. At the outset, many of these were independent craft based units which served the rural area surrounding the village. Today, many of the same needs are satisfied by the outposts of national and county organizations, which have replaced them.

Largely because of its geographical position, Bellingham developed into the main population centre for the locality. Consequently, at the turn of the century, it was the site for a concentration of much activity associated with this role and much business was generated in the service industries. This included the obvious specialist skills provided for farmers, such as veterinary care and auctions at the mart, as well as those facilities such as transport and the supply of tools and equipment. Nevertheless, a much wider range of support was needed. This extended from rural crafts closely allied to farming to those catering for the personal needs of the farming families and those of their labour force.

As Thompson (1975) found before 1914, "...the typical business organisation was still the family firm" (p.13). In the village, there were many craftsmen, working full-time in small family businesses. In

1891, they included a cooper, a cartwright, a tinsmith, a master carpenter, two cabinet makers, a joiner, two cartwrights, who also worked as joiners and coffin makers, four joiners who worked from small builders' yards, three blacksmiths, three stone masons working with three labourers, a stone waller, a saddler & harness maker with an apprentice, a millwright, a watch & clockmaker, and a watchmaker. As the requirements of the local situation altered and new standards developed, the work force gradually changed. By 1901, an architect was practising locally, a plumber was operating in the village and a photographer had opened a business there.

Many of the family run service industries sited in the village found a large proportion of their clientele among the residents of the outlying area. For example, twenty women, one an apprentice, were involved in providing and maintaining clothes. They included dressmakers, laundresses, seamstresses and milliners. Among the men engaged in similar work were a hatter, a hose maker, ten tailors, one with an apprentice and "a servant" (an unskilled helper), and a quilter. One of the tailors also sold groceries and four of them sold drapery. One of these was an agent for the woollen mill at Otterburn, which continued to operate until after the end of World War II. The same group also included five shoemakers and an apprentice, and three bootmakers and an apprentice. One of the bootmakers specialized in cheap heavy duty footwear rather than outstanding craftsmanship. Isa described him succinctly as, "Owld Jimmie, the clogga."

Other requirements of the local population were served by a linen draper, a grocer, three general dealers, a grocer/stationer, a provision merchant who delivered larger monthly orders to outlying farms, a

fruiterer/fishmonger, three butchers including one woman, a baker and a barber. The butchers had their own fields. They bought and kept sheep and beast in the Ealand and the adjoining field until slaughtering them. Fourteen women ran retail businesses which they owned or partly owned. Two of these were elderly spinster sisters who ran a drapers' shop, two middle aged widowed sisters who were a grocer and her assistant, a spinster grocer of seventy-nine, an unmarried mother and her daughter who were confectioners, a widow who was a draper and grocer and her niece who acted as an assistant, another widow who was a grocer, a spinster grocer, a general dealer working with her parents and brother and one married woman who having inherited a general dealer's shop, worked with her husband and two children, respectively. The village post office was run by a spinster and the staff included a widow who was designated by the 1891 census as a letter deliverer and two men described as post messengers. Other amenities offered by the village were listed as an inn run by two sisters and their brother, another run by a man of seventy-eight, a hotel owned by a widow of seventy-two and a lodging house which was run by a married woman. By 1901, these facilities were extended by the addition of two temperance hotels, two ale houses and an apartment for rent, offered by each of four women.

The improvements in transport eased residents' dependence on locally produced goods. This, combined with the increasing import into the village of newly available lines of mass produced goods prompted the closure, or radical change of several local businesses. Overall, the number of retail outlets was reduced but those which remained tended to increase in size. The take over of a family business by Robbs of Hexham and the arrival of a branch of the Prudhoe Cooperative Society, in the

thirties, introduced a wider range of furniture, soft furnishings and clothing. Robbs ran their own savings scheme, collecting money weekly from door to door, so that customers could save before making a purchase. Other housewives saved in Robinson's club and bought clothes and Christmas presents in Hexham, travelling there by a regular bus service. The thirties, saw the beginning of local women running clubs for national organisations and purchase by mail order from advertisements in local, county and national papers became more popular. However, at this time, money was being collected in anticipation of purchasing goods. By the late thirties, a salesman from Tyneside, was arriving by car, and taking his cases of samples to the doors. The garments, mainly of cotton, were much cheaper than those offered within the village and consequently appealed to those receiving low wages. However, three dress-makers continued "to earn a living" until the late fifties when the remaining village tailor ceased to trade, also.

As the number of children in families declined and some local businessmen sought better prospects for their sons, local firms began to offer formal terms of employment to people outside their own kin group, a rare occurrence before the thirties, and thus waged labour was extended. These included the draper, the grocer, the newsagents, the postmaster and the baker. The post office business extended with the demand for daily newspapers as more of the public became literate. Newspapers, which had been collected from the first train, were folded, tied and addressed at the newsagents, and taken to be stamped and sorted before the deliverers left to walk to the farms. Here community cooperation is seen whereby one businessman's success depended upon the cooperation of the other. Most other newspapers were delivered, morning

and evening, by family members and, in the late thirties, by newspaper boys around the village. This appears to have been the time when recognized waged work for school children was introduced. They were paid half a crown a week, for collection and delivery, twice a day. Again, these earnings, were handed over to "mother". Other letter deliverers coped with the mail and telegrams and, by the thirties, the village post office had its own telephone exchange, which gave employment to one teen-age girl.

An increase in the manufacturing industries in distant parts of the country, continued to supersede the need for many craftsmen. One clock-maker operated as a repairer only and the other began to sell factory produced watches and greatly extended his range of stock to include items as widely varied as jewellery and country craft pieces such as walking sticks. The shoe-maker, boot-maker, watch-maker, clock-maker, saddler, cart-wright, coffin-maker and blacksmith, all of whom had served apprenticeships themselves, and had ceased to offer them before World War II, died with their businesses in the forties, fifties and sixties. Some businesses had by then changed direction. For instance the shoe-maker and boot-maker were offering a cobbling service and ran boot and shoe shops.

The exposure of the local labour market to the practices of large outside national organizations such as The Forestry Commission, county employers such as the council and the cooperative society meant that terms of employment which incorporated standards such as maximum working weeks and minimum wages had an effect on the employment prospects of community members. Even though it was a considerable time before such trades union' inspired benefits were easily discernible in the life

styles of some farm labourers, local standards were gradually moving towards an expectation of a shorter working week, a circumstance which, in itself, tended to offer employment to more people.

Bellingham, itself, has never been a tourist spot. However, since the building of the dam, to form the Kielder Water reservoir, there has been some increase in employment within the tourist industry. This is very small compared with that predicted by the team responsible for the promotion of Kielder Water as a centre for leisure activities.

Extractive industries

The fells surrounding the village contain narrow seams of coal, stone of variable commercial value and some iron ore deposits. Although the ore has not been mined since the middle of the last century, the coal and the stone have been exploited, to a limited extent, during the course of the survey period. It would seem that, at the beginning of the period, only a very small proportion of the village work force was employed in any form of extractive industry. The census of 1891 lists only three men engaged in this form of activity. They were coal miners. Although some of the thirty general labourers who were included in the same returns may have been, before then or at a later date, involved in quarrying operations, the 1891 listing obviously provides a fair reflection of the disposition of the labour force at that time. The restricted transport facilities, coupled with the long working hours that were then current, resulted in practicable commuting ranges being relatively small distances. Employment in one of the quarries or most of the coal mines in the district necessitated a temporary or permanent re-location of residence to another village or hamlet.

Three drift pits, working coal seams in the fells, which were in

existence before the second half of the nineteenth century, began to increase in importance to the village, during the nineteen twenties. One reason for their greater significance was the growing local demand for coal. The other was that improving standards of living were providing better transport facilities, including access to bicycles, which enabled the community work force to take advantage of the job opportunities that this increased demand afforded them. In this context these mines continued to develop gradually until World War II, when the coal they produced was at a premium and their activity was further stimulated. After the war, even though they were rejected by the National Coal Board, at the time of nationalization, because of their small size, they continued to thrive. Eventually, however their scale of operations was unable to cope with external commercial pressures. Two closed in the late fifties. The miners reported that they were "working wet", indicating the problems caused by water. Apparently the enterprises succumbed to either the extra costs involved in dealing with this problem or having to pay nationally negotiated wages. The remaining mine closed in the late seventies, being unable to compete in the current market. Early in the eighties some opencast mining was started in the district. It is, however, on a very small scale and any effect it may have on the local economy, is virtually impossible to trace.

At the same stage in historical time that coal mines came to be regarded as within commuting distance of the village, the local granite quarries, similarly influenced by improved transport, also began to afford opportunities of employment for the community members. However, even during periods of peak demand for their product, when transport by quarry waggon was provided, they did not furnish as reliable an income

as the coal mines. For instance, as recently as the late fifties, the quarries closed during periods of inclement weather, such as heavy rain or frost. As a consequence the employees were "laid off" without pay. During the winter months this could result in a considerable drop in income to the work force and a sizable drop in running expenses for the employers, who were the sole arbiters in the matter of reaching a decision to "lay off the men". To what extent, if at all, their prerogative was used with commercial interests in mind rather than the welfare of the employees was, in the minds of some of the workers, a moot point. Referring to the time when a local quarry was close to the end of a large contract for extensive building in the centre of Durham City, one woman explained, "We wo' married in the January, 1953. Joe w's off work cos of the frost, and he hadn't a full week's wage from then until the Hoppins (June)." Jackson & Marsden confirm the instability of such employment, quoting a worker as saying there was, "No work in the winter months, six or seven weeks you might have no work" (1962,p.57).

The local quarries were stimulated by the boom in building which started after World War II and continued into the nineteen sixties. By the following decade, however, much sterner competition emphasized their shortcomings as commercial enterprises. This stimulated a series of business manoeuvrers, including take-overs and amalgamations of the quarry companies. The consequent rationalization included closures of less profitable operations. Now, there are only two working quarries in the district. Both are within eight miles of Bellingham but the employment opportunities they offer community members have been greatly reduced during recent years.

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

Transport

Throughout the early part of the period of the time being researched, most of the transport which served the area was either by rail or horse-drawn vehicle. The latter provided the most frequently encountered means of transport, in and around the village. At that time the horse was an indispensable part of daily life. It not only provided the power units for agriculture and private transport but was the motive force for carters (three according to the 1891 census) whose wide spectrum of activities embraced exporting and importing manufactured goods and livestock, delivering coal, providing a hearse, a removal service and garbage collection. Compared with other means of conveyance, such as railways, horse drawn transport was labour intensive. Horse-drawn vehicles being slower needed a bigger work force per unit carried. They also placed much higher demands on the operators, who had to make more provision for daily routines involving stabling, grooming and feeding, than the maintenance associated with mechanical means of transport. Nevertheless on the poorly maintained unmade roads, which were the only means of access to many farms until the nineteen thirties, they were the only practical means of delivery and collection of goods and stock.

Early this century, the local roads were largely maintained by the efforts of Isa's father, a road-maker, who had learned his trade from her grandfather. She explained:

> We were just workin' people. My fatha was a quarry contractor. He used lots o' quarries around here in them days. He used t' quarry the stones in the summer an' lay them in the winter. Then he went on the roads. He'd be weeks on the roads. An' owld Gerry Hall said he could tell Tommy Armstrong's roads cos there wasn't a stone oot o' place. Me fatha could neither read nor write but by he wus arful good't cubic measure and linear measure, and pounds, shillings an' pence, y' couldn't beat him.

An' me motha wouldn't get a weekly wage. She'd hev t' wait mebbe months till the council paid him.

The services, at that time, provided by the railway were recognized as valuable and accorded prestige to the twenty-four men who were employed by the L.N.E.R., which had a station in Bellingham. The older villagers explained that it furnished the most sought after employment for men who had not been apprenticed. A successful applicant had free transport to work, regular hours, secure employment and a pension was anticipated, but there were disadvantages in the eyes of the community. Several men had to work away from home for long periods and some families even moved away from the village. Biddy explained:-

Noo he (husband) hed t' gan t' Scotland. A w's on me own fo' ower a twelve month. He w's a coalman. He hed t' cum off the plate t' git back. It w's warse pay t' git back. Mind he niva left the railway.

The railway was mainly used by the village economy for regular import and export of passengers, goods and stock. Although it had an overwhelming advantage in the matter of carrying large quantities of both people and goods over long distances, at speed, it depended upon the horse to complete delivery of much that it shipped. By the twenties and thirties motorized transport was beginning to share in this field.

At the beginning of the century, all employment offered in the village by the local councils, with the exception of the overseer and assistant overseer of the work-house, had been part-time, often in the form of regularly renewable contracts with local carriers or farmers. However, offers of varied full-time employment increased as they appointed their own rate collector, surveyors and office staff, the first women office employees in the area. Eventually, they employed their own refuse disposal gangs and full-time ambulance crews. The jobs

which were created as part of this trend represented an injection of financial resources to the community as well as providing a certain increase in the stability of the village population and the level of economic activity which it sponsored.

Employment continued to alter in line with general societal development and a considerable part of this change was allied to, or implemented by, improved transport facilities. The survey area may have lagged behind other parts of the country in respect of the introduction of motorized road transport but its use increased as the century progressed. The use of a faster means of transport on the public roads obviously emphasized their shortcomings and moves were instituted to remedy the exposed inadequacies. This included a series of road widening schemes and a gradual extension of the use of tar-macadam surface.

Initially the improvements provided extra employment in the area and some general labourers, who had previously worked in numerous fields and for several employers, found their niche. The county council enlarged its civil engineering department to provide "road gangs" who carried out the improvements and subsequently repaired the roads, which were then used more frequently and maintained at a higher standard. The older survey subjects were in agreement that, during the thirties, the most sought after employment was as a roadman. A new word had been added to workmen's conditions of employment - superannuation. Such employment, as well as offering security, also guaranteed continuous home life within the village for some men, who were thus freed from the disadvantages of casual employment.

As road improvements were effected, access to and from the village was enhanced. The carters became redundant and the demands for the

skills of local farriers were curtailed. Nevertheless the net effect of this particular facet of the change was an increase in employment opportunities. Delivery drivers were needed to exploit the new forms of transport and two garages, staffed by a total of five men, developed in the village to provide petrol and service the new vehicles. This was the first radical change of the local transport system. It was, without doubt the forerunner of the next radical change, the closure of the railway. By the time this had occurred, the transformation from the combination of railway and horse drawn vehicle, to the present system of motorized transport, which serves the dispersed area in which the village is situated, was complete.

The effect on the community economy of this development of local government services had a significant effect. As some of the employment opportunities decreased such as the closing of the local railway line in the sixties and the severe curtailment of local bus services throughout the seventies and the eighties, the increased provision by the local authority provided a prop for the village. This assistance has largely taken the form of an expansion of the existing services and the provision of benefits to those for whom employment was not applicable.

The development of personal transport, throughout the period under examination, has also had a significant effect on the community. The wider ownership of bicycles, which had developed during the nineteen twenties, also enabled men to take advantage of some of the permanent jobs on offer and so obtain alternative employment to casual labouring. This further reinforced the stability of the household groups within Bellingham. For example, men and teen-age boys cycled out in all directions- to Hareshaw pit, the Duke's estate beyond Reedsmouth, to

Elishaw, Vickers Armstrong's testing ground at the Steel and "up the, Tyne for forestry work." The widespread use of bicycles during this part of historical time is indicated by the records of the Bellingham Petty Sessions, which are dominated, between the wars, by details of cyclists' fines for infringing the traffic acts.

Another facet of private transport, the ownership of cars by manual workers, is unique to the village of recent times, especially during the past decade. Prior to the nineteen fifties the possession, by this section of the community, of any form of motorized transport - even a motor cycle - was rare. The more widespread acquisition of cars, limited to a minority only of the manual workers, was one of the consequences of the more recent increases in general affluence. Although effects of this, on community life, are evident, it has not, hitherto, exerted the same degree of influence as the increased availability of the bicycle.

Manufacturing

The basic character of commerce in the immediate area, during the period under examination, has always been such that manufacturing, in the more generally accepted definition of the term, has had a low profile indeed. When it has existed, it has been on a very small scale, both localized and limited in terms or social impact. When the current century opened the village supported a small mineral water manufactory. This was housed in a derelict methodist chapel, which became available near the end of last century. It traded for a few years and was eventually closed following damage caused by a flash flood in the burn on which it stood. Throughout the thirties and forties a local entrepreneur, from Corbridge, organized the machine knitting of socks on

a cottage industry basis. He provided the small hand powered machines and visited the homes of the few village participants to leave supplies of wool and collect and pay for the finished products. By the advent of the nineteen fifties, the section of this business which operated in the village had been wound up. Its operation was distinguished from the then current rural crafts only by the provision of machines and the contractual arrangements with the outside agent. In 1977, a government scheme was initiated, which offered to provide substantial grants to generate jobs in rural areas. It was reported that, in this context, Northumberland was to be treated more generously than other rural counties. As part of this scheme five small industrial units were built in Bellingham, during the early nineteen eighties. They have been empty most of the time since they were built. Currently, following the second attempt to start a business in the largest of these units, the site is providing employment for four men, including only one local man, and one woman, who works on a part-time basis.

MAKING A LIVING IN BELLINGHAM, TODAY

State support

The main income of the majority of households are benefits paid by the state as a result of bureaucratically determined procedures and priorities. The local economy has, increasingly, become heavily shored by various forms of state aid, only eighteen per cent of the 341 households receiving none (survey conducted, 1987). To some extent this is due to the demographic fact that people are living longer and choosing to live in a depleted household group (see Sheldon, 1948,p.154). Parker (1988) points out that, "Research into preferences

for care patterns indicates that informal care with professional support would be the preferred option for most people" (p.509). In tandem with this, because of district housing policies, the village has become the centre for the elderly in the area, increasing the number of one and two person households. Sixty-seven per cent of households have one or more retired pensioners within them. Fifty-eight per cent are entirely composed of pensioners.

As far as the old regard poverty, it is of the past. Sayers (1988) suggests that:-

> ...if workers in early nineteenth-century Britain had been offered the prospect of the present system of national social security they would have been likely to dismiss such a vision as utopian" (p.748).

This viewpoint seems to fit in with life in Bellingham, for at the beginning of the century, the future of a manual worker had seemed bleak. If fortunate, he could anticipate working and earning until death intervened. If not, he would become dependent upon others. Bourne (1912) found that the labouring men and women (Surrey) were much too often worried and unhappy. They were suffering from chronic anxiety because the fear of destitution was always in sight. The fathers of cohort I were part of the age group who experienced the first improvement in this state of affairs. From 1909 onwards, they could expect to qualify for a pension, in the first instance for a means tested state pension of 5/- per week, if they lived to the age of seventy. However, for a minority of people, some insecurity occasioned by casual labouring, continued until World War II.

The present day pensioners, who for the most part, spent their childhood in household groups with such a background, are very pleased with their life styles. For instance, senior farmers and their wives,

who would in the past have been supported within an extended family group, live independently in their own cottages, often on the very same farms. Lance explained:-

I must admit that we are well off today with our pensions. And I have invalidity allowance and mobility allowance.

Other survey subjects, elderly widows, live in new two bedroom bungalows or sheltered accommodation, some given help with rent and other general expenses. Here, a mix of backgrounds is found. For instance, Mary, who had lived in privately owned accommodation, has chosen to retire into a council owned bungalow and is next door to another widow, who has spent all her former life, residing in one of the Duke's cottages. This, to some extent, indicates the quality of state provision for the elderly.

Twenty-four per cent of household groups receive child allowances, some, in addition, receiving family credit- means tested benefit for families with children on low wages, suggesting an overlap, within some groups, of pensions and family allowance. A minority receive widows' benefit, training grants, small businesses' grants and subsidies. Many, also receive other social security benefits including invalidity and sickness benefit. A cohort I survey subject explained how the doctor advised him when he was made redundant and the "....dole was paying more than the sick."

Stay on the dole until such times as y' on the dole fo' twelve months 'n y' go ont' social security efta that. So A waited aboot nine or ten month and then A applied fo' the sick. It's invalidity benefit if y'a on the sick fo' six months.... A don't know what A used t' get fo' the missus... But she got the pension when she was sixty and A immediately got a letter from the D.H.S.S. ... Y' can't have both. In one hand and out o' the other.

Transport & Employment

The possession of a private means of transport is a significant

advantage for residents of the district. Today, the distances which members of the community travel daily to work vary, for the main part, between the short walking distance of those employed in Bellingham to the hour and a half road journey of the few who travel to Newcastle, Durham and beyond. Most of those prepared to travel the furthest are either born locally and do not wish to live elsewhere, or are incomers who appreciate the lower house prices, type of schooling, and the leisure and health facilities offered by the district. The incidence of the possession of a driving licence has increased significantly, over the past thirty years. Influenced, no doubt, by the widely dispersed population of the area, many jobs now available require the ability to drive as a main qualification or as an integral part of the subsidiary skills required (see chapter 2). The importance of a driving licence, in the context of employment, is reflected by the high proportion of drivers, who qualified using their employers' vehicles and benefitted from free tuition, from the same source.

Integration of home & employment

Nuclear families live and work on farms, in public houses and hotels. Workers such as the school caretaker, the police sergeant, the sub postmaster and some tradesmen including garage proprietors, the baker and the newsagent and some of their families are employed in work places and reside in the attached premises. For instance, the baker, whilst employing some help, works with his son in production. The baker's wife, whose brother owns the premises, works in the shop and makes up the books at the end of a long day. Other men who are self-employed, including builders, painters & decorators, carpenters, calor gas merchants and transport contractors, are home based, relying on

their families to look after the business interests whilst they work. These workers are similar to those described by Hakim (1988) in the following, "Some homeworkers intentionally restrict their hours and earnings so as to keep them below the level at which income tax and National Insurance contributions, become due" (p.620). Others exaggerate their commitment to family businesses to make any claims at all. Priests, the Methodist minister, bank managers, joiners, bookmaker, most teachers, gardeners, nurses, plumbers/electricians, policemen and butchers live and, for the main part, work within the community. Others, haulage contractors, ambulance drivers, forestry and water workers are employed in the wider district also, but are based in Bellingham.

Wages and salaries

The main income of most of the remaining household groups, and some already mentioned, arises from regular jobs of individuals working for contracted wages/salaries and hours and they either work in the village or travel daily to their places of employment, such as Otterburn Camp and Kielder Dam, often by shared car or employers' vehicles. The surviving regular bus service to and from Hexham fits in with a working day and ensures that employment may be undertaken between Bellingham and Hexham. Five men work abroad and Gillian explained that her husband spends three weeks at home, followed by three weeks in the Middle East.

There has been an increase in the number of men and women who are paid regular wages for part-time work in the evenings, at week-ends or on a casual basis, particularly in the service industries. Some of this is in building and vehicle maintenance, in the shops and hotels, other is still seasonal farm or forestry work and gardening but the most sought after part-time work is as a special constable or a firemen which

carries a retainer. However, the latter tends to provide tradesmen with additional income. They are able to take advantage of such part-time work, being available to leave their full-time employment when the "air raid warning" sounds. Rumour has it that the Observer Corps, a part-time organization set up at the beginning of World War II, still operates, the men meeting in the Rose & Crown and being paid on a part-time basis.

There is little full-time employment for women in the area but a few are willing to travel daily to Hexham, working in hospital, offices and shops. Today, half of the married women under sixty are housewives alone and a further fifth work part-time. However, most of these workers enjoy similar conditions, including pay, to men and women in full-time employment. The main sources of contractual part-time work are in schools, hotels and public houses, shops and caring. Some is home based. Margaret works as a registrar from her front room and Graham's wife collects the council rents. Over time, the survey shows an increase in the number of women working in recognized part-time employment from none of the mothers of cohort I to two of cohort II and on to twelve, half of them, of cohort III. In addition, several run clubs for national organizations, money being collected after the purchase of goods. According to Daphne of cohort II, there is plenty of work "if you want it", and if, "You are willing to be a Jack o' all trades". Several are involved in providing "bed & breakfast" and a few are sent "the overspill" from the inns and guest houses, for bed only.

Some children are able to find work after school and at the week-ends, helping the self-employed and caring for younger children. However, their wages tend to be additional pocket money and do not, today, form part of the household group's income.

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

MAKING A LIVING DURING THE EARLY PART OF THIS CENTURY

The main income of household groups was very different at the beginning of the century. State pensions did not exist and only one member of the community, an eighty-three year old spinster was an annuitant. Most groups, to some extent, depended upon household production of food (see chapter 6). Tyack (1984) confirms that, at that time in Harefield, the necessary household economy was such that it could be effected by producing food at home (p.22). Life was very much the way Bourne found it, where, "...the two sexes, each engaged daily upon essential duties, (and were) on a surprising equality the one to the other (1912,p.25). For the main part all household members, as soon as they could do so, made a contribution towards making a living.

Unpaid work was very important to the household economy and the make up of household groups showed that it was necessary to have a woman working in each home, waged or unwaged. Eighteen women were listed as housekeepers, in the 1891 census. Eleven of them were resident and nine of these were housekeepers for relatives. To what extent it would be truly representative to list this group as in residential employment is a moot point. The situation of most of them would probably be in the grey area also covered partly by caring or unpaid work within the kinship group, which has, to some extent, continued until the present day. It is unlikely that for the nine relatives, unlike for the others, that their employment was covered by any form of contract, either formal or informal. In such circumstances they would be adopted as members of the family households, would receive no wages and would be provided for from the budget which existed for the group. In addition to growing vegetables and keeping animals (see chapter 7), household groups made a

living from a multiplicity of sources.

Integration of home & employment

For many groups the interface between work place and home had a definite overlap. Pahl (1984) saw this, in the late eighteenth century that, "...the heart of the productive enterprise was still the family unit..." (p.37). For instance, it was the usual practice for most small businesses to use the living quarters as an office, from which bills were issued and where accounts were checked. It was also common practice to use the living quarters as an overspill storage area for the work place. Peggy commented, "The arl expected y' t' hev fruit an nuts f' christmas but nen o' them seemed to think that the hoose wad be stowed out wi' arl th' extra stuff th' wanted." In some cases, living space was maximized by utilizing temporarily unused space in the work area. The blacksmith and the carpenter both regularly "found room" for a bag of potatoes and provided space to hang the galvanized family bath, the children's sledges, hoops and guards.

Farms, as other allied craft and sales businesses, were very much household enterprises with all the members being expected to work towards their success and receiving no individual wages. The principal worker was self employed and other members of the family helped whenever and wherever required, often for very long hours indeed. Lance explained, "Live stock was our main income- lambs 'n calves. I wasn't paid anything cos I always understood that the farm would be mine." He went on to comment, "I used to make pocket money by catchin' rabbits and things like that." It was accepted that farmers would continue to work all their lives, acting in an advisory capacity, as they grew too old to take an active part. For instance, Kathleen mentioned how her father,

who owned the Demesne farm, was pleased to allow his wife's elderly resident uncle to supervise the stacking and his elderly aunt to supervise the household.

Multiple occupations

It was not unusual for men to be engaged in more than one type of employment, one being allied to the ownership of land. One farmer doubled as a cartman and three others were also inn-keepers. Such a practice continued well into this century. This ownership of land was connected to voting rights and, consequently, status at that time. As well as this, the household members worked as a group and, as with any successful group, there was division of labour. For instance, Peggy's aunt and uncle ran both a shop and a small-holding. Her aunt milked, looked after the cows, calves, hens and pigs, as well as delivering the milk, twice a day, and serving in the shop. She went to bed when all her orders for the next day had been prepared and her husband when he had completed the accounts. Peggy weighed and packed the butter, sugar, lard, currants and tea. She went on to explain:

> Well there'd be these lasses out playin' 'n A'd just hev t' get on with it. Y' thought nothin' about it. They'd be skippin' or playin' marbles. But A helped auntie when A came in from school.... 'nd there'd be Betty S--- t' watch. Betty used t' come alang 'n if y' weren't sharp, off would come the lid off the biscuits an' a few would gan in the pocket. A wouldn't mind feedin' the calves 'n gettin' my fingers well bitten. But me uncle said A'd niva hev t' milk so A niva learned.

Work within the family's own household or nearby

In many other cases, also, employment and home life were closely interwoven. This is in accord with Tyack's (1984) findings that the agricultural village of that period was the site of both residence and employment for its inhabitants. The close association was evident when reviewing the personal circumstances of the men who were resident in the

village, at the same time. For ninety-two of the one hundred and eighty-one men, who were listed in the 1891 census, home and place of work were virtually the same. This was common to all categories of worker in the village and included the priest, the rector, the presbyterian minister, the doctor, grooms, gas manager, the bank agent, farm hinds, farmers, shopkeepers, craftsmen, the stationmaster, schoolmaster and the local policeman.

Work and home were even more integrated for women. For a group of fifty-one of the ninety-three women who lived and had employment within Bellingham, at that time, home was the work place. In many of these instances, for example in the case of laundresses, dress-makers, seamstresses and milliners, their work rooms were also their living areas. All the women, who were living in the village and had employment, worked in Bellingham. None travelled daily. If employment was required and suitable work could not be found in the village, the alternative was to move into residential employment.

Working in an employer's household

Seventeen of the women who had obtained formal waged employment, on six monthly contracts, for example domestic servants, also lived within the households of their employers. Eight men, four farm workers, three young craft apprentices and a trained bootmaker did so, also. Apprentices were articled for five years. This involved payments to craftsmen by the families of the apprentices, thus generating income and co-opting a youth into the household group, particularly in situations where the family had no son of the required age. Residential employment was widely on offer, both on the surrounding farms and the estates but farmers, at this time, did little or no manual work themselves. In

contrast, Blythe (1967) describes the farm workers, at the turn of the century, as working 365 days per year, often rising every morning as early as five o' clock without respite. Lance recalled that his father, a third generation tenant farmer at Blakelaw, employed "two men and sometimes three." Lance, as his forebears before him, supervised the workers under his own father's direction every day but sunday.

Early this century, sunday was regarded as a day of rest. Because of strong religious convictions, on that day, none were expected to either work or take part in any sport. However, scant regard was given to this with regard to the hired hand. There were four places of worship and, during the twenties and thirties, a very flourishing temperance society. Whilst Lance and Peggy, pointed out how staunchly their families upheld the strong Presbyterian principles, showing no signs of flexibility, the work on Lance's family farm was done by others and Peggy depended on her aunt to milk the cows on the family smallholding.

Farm labourers and estate workers in permanent employment, were employed seven days each week for fifty-two weeks each year. Johny, whose childhood was during the same historical time sector, told me that his bachelor uncle was then employed as a residential farm worker on a remote farm ten miles from home and worked every day of the week, his hours being governed solely by the amount of work to be done. He walked home once or twice during a six monthly term if he could be spared from work but always visited his widowed mother at the term end, in May and November. It was then that he drove the sheep to market, handed over his wages and was given his pocket money. Life was very much the same for other farm labourers before World War II. Rene's father's terms of employment were similar, the only outstanding difference being that he

was allocated a tied cottage to house his wife and five children, and his wife was expected to work as required by the farmer and his wife. Her duties ranged from caring for the farmer's children to field work at times of peak demands. On rare occasions she was paid, but she could not refuse to work, she could not rely on being paid, nor could she seek employment in her own right. Her husband was a hired hand and, by implication, she was bonded, also.

Estate work offered very similar conditions. Selwyn's father was one of the squire's gardeners. He was given permission to live in Bellingham, but this did not change the level of commitment expected of him, including working hours and attendance. He was still part of the estate staff and, as such, was served his meals in the staff quarters and received his wages, six monthly. Daphne grew up, during the thirties, in a tied cottage on an estate in the area, where her father was employed as a gardener. Living next door was her grandfather, the head gardener, who "never really retired." When Daphne married, her husband changed his employment and became an estate gardener, working under the direction of his father-in-law.

However, during the early part of the century, because of employment conditions, the nature of kinship support was occasionally influenced by extreme circumstances arising from economic necessity. In one such instance, Robert Armstrong and his wife, left their children with relatives in the village whilst they continued in residential employment "ower in the Rothbury direction." No doubt this is an instance of the operation of "the bondager system" to which Bradley refers, where, in this case, a couple were both bonded to work for an employer (1989,p.82).

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

Multiple sources of making a household living

The waged worker

Once a manual worker's child had left school, it was unusual to find her/him living within the household group of origin. However, some families had more than one workman and, in these circumstances, a daughter's services were needed in preference to the money she could earn in residential employment. Isa, a member of a large family, after leaving school at thirteen, worked at home for two years with her mother as there were four workmen, including her three elder brothers, in the household group. She said of it:-

There was no more play after that. If A could sneak oot A liked a game o' marbles. Wi' the Mackays, Joanne's lot and Sistersons at the end. A was a good player. Mind me motha had a home help. A was the home help.

Chaytor's work supports this use of a daughter. She says that,"...if daughters could be supported at home they would stay there" (Pahl,1984,p.26).

All members of the family contributed to the budget, whether they lived within the household group or not. It was usual for young daughters and sons to be sent to "place". At the beginning of the century, most teen-age boys and girls, whose homes of origin were in Bellingham, were employed in residential work in the surrounding area, being hired at "the hiring marts" in Bellingham or Hexham on a six monthly or yearly basis. The Hexham Courant (re. 1883) says, regarding pay, "Young women up to nine pounds, ten shillings and in exceptional cases ten pounds, ten shillings. Young men got up to fourteen pounds a year". It was, as Pahl found that, "Workers need not necessarily be co-resident; sons and daughters who work elsewhere and send money home are, to that extent, working for the household" (1984, p.30). However,

Middleton (1988) makes the point that there was a stigma attached to such work (p.31). Wages, for the main part, were paid directly to the parents and as late as of the forties, Theresa makes the point that she never saw her pay for residential work. Some young workers lived within the employer's home, others were boarded in the tied cottages and temporary workers dossed in or above the stables.

The general labourers, because of the uncertainty of their employment and their relatively low wages, were regarded as the bottom of the labour force and it is very doubtful whether they "...enjoyed an element of real personal freedom" suggested by Pahl (1984,p.52). They were always in the position of having to please and always on the look out for their next employment. When village work was in short supply, general labourers walked to nearby industrial hamlets, "dossed" in the homes of families living in tied cottages and found temporary employment in the quarries or coal mines. Their situation, in this respect, was clearly not unique. Tyack (1984) outlines a similar situation, which existed in rural Middlesex, before World War I (p.37). Eventually, depending on how hard they worked, labourers could be offered a permanent position which included housing.

The household economy

Booth (1899) and Rowntree (1901) had arrived at a similar minimum of 21s-22s per week to keep a family of man, woman and three children in minimum comfort, at the turn of the century. This provides comparative material for mine. During each informal interview, I had collected enough information to draw up charts to portray the income of each family, during the family of origin stage. Several Bellingham families would not have had such comfort without being largely self supportive,

at that time. For example, one 1910 household income was:-

TABLE 7

Household Group Earnings Number of adults 2 Number of children 7			
Father's	Mother's	elder sister	Extras
Labourer/Quarryman Wages subject to weather Part time barber Bandsman	Field work Seasonal	Servant lass Residential (hired £10)	rabbits, produce, eggs
17s 6d+2s+6d	2s + turnips & potatoes	4s approx	seasonal mushrooms
Total required 29s			
Total income 26s during good weather			
Total income 6s 6d during bad weather			
Conclusion: Below suggested basic income			

It was thus necessary for workmen, other than the self-employed or hired hand, their wives and children to earn whatever wages they could in day employment and part-time, seasonal and occasional work. The survey subjects readily explained how their families coped.

Part-time & occasional employment

Some extra earnings came from additional work after the long day's employment had been completed. For instance, the estate head gardener had a large allotment and green-houses of his own. Joan's father, an estate manager, had his own extensive smallholding. He kept calves and sheep, buying and selling at the local marts. "He worked all the hours God sends" but, helped by his wife and children, he was able to make a steady additional income. Joan explained about her own pet calf:-

Me fatha must hev given it t' me t' look efta, y' see. 'n they were just like pets. 'n A c'n rememba cryin' when it went t' the mart. A wasn't allowed t' gan in the rings. A don't know where it went. Me fatha wouldn't tell me.

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

Most men found ways of earning extra money but any additional regular employment was much sought after and two survey subjects' fathers were regarded as fortunate. They worked on a regular part-time basis for "Michael John Young". Bob, a miner, was his groundsman whilst the other, an estate worker, was "a delivery boy" spending every evening, delivering goods from Michael John's provision stores. Occasionally, particularly at Christmas, they were given some groceries. Only one of cohort I & II's fathers, a platelayer, could not seek alternative employment on a regular basis. Johny explained, "He hed t' be ready t' be call'd oot at any time. Many's the time there was a fire on the railway side."

Bourne (1912) also describes how eager the men in Surrey were to earn an odd shilling after a day's work. Three survey subjects' fathers, manual workers, were self employed barbers. Several men made extra money cutting hair and shaving others at that time. Older men sported side whiskers and beards, younger men moustaches. As a special treat, they were shaved when they had a hair cut, a welcome respite for the family (see chapter 7). Marget's father, a labourer, combined being a barber with playing a tin whistle in the local band, which played at the regular summer picnics held at the week-ends in the surrounding villages. During the twenties and thirties, there was a regular shilling or two to be earned as a caddie on the golf course. Other older men were known to station themselves among the bushes on the bank sides of the burn, collecting stray balls. They regularly had used ones to sell to the saddler. Some men, earned additional income, throughout the winter, playing at the local dances. Rosemary's uncle Tommy, as well as belonging to a farming household, organized the mart field, played the

organ for church services, the piano in the local band and played for the sing-song at the Railway Hotel. In addition, he was expected to give his services free for local concerts. Although much of his community status rested upon the fact that he was a farmer, his social identity was dominated by the role of village musician.

Seasonal work

Many men, whose regular employment did not require them to work on a sunday, were only too willing to do so when seasonal and occasional employment, such as harvesting, haymaking or cleaning up the show field, provided them with the opportunity. The skills, such as stooking, forking up, loading and stacking, that housewives and men such as miners, railway men and quarry workers needed for such jobs, were taken for granted, since they had been acquired, as an extension of their childhood' experiences, when they had accompanied their parents performing the same tasks, very often, in the very same fields. The heavy work which Bradley (1989) explains, women in Wales were "said to be still doing" in the 1890's (p.83) was part of the seasonal cycle for many able bodied Bellingham women until the fifties.

At peak times of activity on the farms, during the long days of summer and autumn, work was given to regulars, men who followed on from their employment for the evenings and the week-ends and to women, who would leave their housework, to help during the fine afternoons. There were other occasions, for instance during the late autumn, when only the women could help to pull the turnips and collect the potatoes. At such a time, the evenings were too dark to work when the men could have been free to help. Most of cohort I and ten of cohort II fathers did some seasonal work. Payment varied from farmer to farmer and from employee to

employee. Manual workers tended to seek employment where they were paid casual wages. However, Kathleen explained that the bank accountant, who had spent his childhood on a farm, had free bags of potatoes and swedes sent round to his home in the autumn and a load of manure to his garden in the spring. Marget and Isa, who helped at hay making time at a shopkeeper's smallholding, were given a box of groceries and Joan recalled that Mrs Wright, "Browt a marvellous spread fo' al' the helpers t' the hay field."

Occasional work

The most frequent offence recorded at the Bellingham Petty Sessions for September 1900 to September 1901 was "drunk". Some were fined and paid costs for being drunk, others drunk and disorderly and two who were drunk on licensed premises. However, the demand for drink created much sought after irregular work for men and women at the pubs and beer houses. For the men, such as Doris's father, it often meant hanging around every night at his brother-in-law's pub, in the hope of being needed. It was a case of no work, no pay for them. On mart days, show day and the mornings of hunts, men stood around in the pub yards and near the auction ring, hoping to earn "the odd tanner", for holding a horse whilst the rider went for a drink. Others helped to drive sheep and cattle from and to the trains. Joining in the driving to the railway station for cohort I, as children, had an extra bonus, for a farmer would, on rare occasions, throw down a copper or two for a good job done.

Additional women's work

Pahl makes the assumption, regarding women during the first forty years of this century, that, "Once they had married, however, it was

exceptional for any women of any class to be in employment" (1984,p.73). Whilst the mothers of the survey subjects were not in recognized full-time waged employment, at that time, two were involved in family businesses and others had to earn some money to put towards the family budget. Such employment for women finds support from other writers. Sharpe says that, "...working class women have always had to work to supplement the husband's income" (1976,p.426), and Mason found that her middle aged and retired survey subjects had seen the woman's employment as, "...secondary, voluntary and supplementary in a way that their husbands' had not" (1987,p.92).

Jean's mother, was an exception, early this century, in not having to work to pay for basic necessities. Jean explained, "She worked every spare minute to get the money to pay for us at grammar school." (see table 7.1).

TABLE 7.1

Household Group Earnings Number of adults 2 Number of children 3		
Father's	Mother's	Extras
Joiner & cartwright Employed by brothers in family business Paid six monthly	Dressmaker	All firewood Produce of large garden rabbits, pigs, hens, eggs seasonal- game, fish, mushrooms
Parents employed full-time, all year in successful businesses		
Household group- self supportive except for flour, salt, fat & meat		
Conclusion: above suggested basic income		

CHAPTER 7 - EMPLOYMENT

At a time when most of the family income was needed to buy food, twenty mothers of cohort I & II, despite working long and hard in their own homes (see chapter 6), found it necessary to take whatever employment they could. Davidoff & Westover (1986) point out that it is a feature of women's work that they have to "mesh employment with domestic commitments" (p.X).

One mother was a school caretaker, another cleaned the chapel and a third the town hall. Eleven were both char women and washer women, for in situations where maids, other than general servants, were employed, the rough work- scrubbing and washing, was done, once a week, by a woman drawn in from outside the household staff. This work was the roughest and the toughest of household tasks and pay was a few shillings or coppers. One survey subject explained what his mother did, in the twenties and thirties.

> Me mother worked at Robbs. She cleaned the shop once a week. Half-a-croon fo' the mornin'. It al' had t' be scrubbed. At the garage she got another half-a-croon fo' the hoose in the mornin'. Mind that was al' it got. Cleaned once a week fo' half-a-croon. She worked at Smiths o' Thornhill deein' the weshin'. Me fatha didn't like it. He wanted her in when he came yem. He hed t' hev his back weshed. It was many the time five o' clock afore she got finished....She did the weshin' an' the ironin' fo' three shillin's! She finished when it was al' done. Whey, the Dobbins o' the shop (niece and her husband) left theirs as weel. They niva missed a trick. Bye, A would hev liked t' tell them. But y' couldn't. Mam needed the money.

Bird & West found that the most common attitude of a husband was that, "...they had no objections to their wife getting a job as long as it did not affect them in any way... (1987,p.189).

Five other mothers worked within the home. One mother ran a "doss house" for casual workmen. Sybil and her husband, who with four young children, lived up a flight of stone steps and a flight of bare wooden stairs in two rooms, had a bed-ridden paying guest. The insurance

agent's wife did as much dressmaking as she could get but she was in competition with several other Bellingham women who supplemented their income in this way. Cyril's mother made a few pence knitting every spare moment. Another mother was a local "layer oot o' the deed." Theresa recalled, "Mary, once got ten bob for doin' it." Sometimes she got nothing but usually a shilling.

Two others sold eggs, fruit, vegetables and garden produce. Joe explained that when there was a good harvest of mushrooms, he, his sister and mother rose very early, picked the mushrooms into clothes baskets, packed them into boxes and put them on the early train bound for Newcastle market. This echoed Tyack's (1984) findings concerning a Middlesex village at the turn of the century, where one man recalled "Eighty years ago if you could earn a shilling, you had to go and earn a shilling" (p.31). Many of the farmers jealously guarded any sources of additional income over which they had control. They caught and sold rabbits infesting their land, themselves. However, some villagers did take rabbits. Theresa explained that her father had permission to snare them on the railway embankments. He sold them around the doors whenever he could. Any that could not be sold had to be eaten within the household. Joan told me, "We wo' hard up when me motha hed t' gan away.... Me motha was away fo' a fortnight. Me fatha gave 's rabbit ivery day whilst she w's away!"

Children's work

Apart from twelve teen-age boys, who were apprenticed or were being trained within family businesses, there were only seven living within the village in 1891 (census). Two were general labourers. The others were residential farm "servant lads", a stable boy, a miner, a railway

booking clerk and an engine cleaner, respectively. Of the fifteen teen-age girls, one was a pupil teacher, another an apprenticed dress-maker, two were resident housekeepers for relatives, nine were resident servants and the remaining two, non-resident farm servants. This meant that school children were an important part of working groups and joined them on the farms and in the shops and craft work places. For instance, Johny and his two friends were given the first ride of the day on the bogie to Kit's hay field and helped to load on the pike. He recalled:-

> Kit let al' the bairns roond aboot up in the hay shed. Mebbe eight or nine o' us. Mind he'd only fork the hay up t' John (Johny's elder friend). He passed it back t' the rest of us an' we possed it doon. An' we kept on possin' till Joe an' Kit came back again wi' another load. Man we were fair worn oot at bedtime. An' hot an' sticky...an' hay seeds al' ower.

Blythe (1967) suggests that watching was children's training. They were drawn into employment, in Bellingham, from a very early age but they were not paid. Yet, they were an integral part of the work force of the small family businesses. For instance, it was routinely expected that children would fetch and carry, relay messages and act as unpaid assistants in the work place, as well as, with their mother, entertain visiting customers or patrons with tea and conversation, make up accounts, and call at the bank. Other children regularly spent time in or around the craftsmen's work places, on most occasions merely observing, but sometimes they were allowed to assist. If a boy was interested and reliable, the blacksmith would allow him to blow the bellows. Billy explained, "Mind, we hed t' stand still. Niva move. As soon as he saw the shadow cross the horse's foot he used t' golla an' away we'd go." John continued, "Sometimes we were lucky an' we saw him hoop a wheel an' the wata used t' sizzle an' the steam gush up." The

boys of cohort I watched Bob Milburn, the carpenter and wheelwright at work, "....where there were coffins and various other things. The coffins were the main thing...in the middle of the floor."

The killing shop was also a popular venue for children. Cyril mentioned:-

> We al' watched Stanley, the butcher. The killin' shop was next door. Geordie Dagg, y' remember Geordie? He'd be helpin' wi' the killin'. If there were nee young 'ns there, he'd let us watch and help t' push the barra (heaped with entrails) doon the ladda an' bury it.... We got nowt for helpin'. Mind he w's niva keen t' let the lasses watch. No sooner did they cum th'n we w' al' sent packin'.

Household groups, who had no children of their own, borrowed them from others nearby. This is similar to the evidence of Ross (1983) that mothers, in London, "loaned" the services of daughters, in particular. Graham explained that, as a boy, he loved to weigh the flour and salt for Michael John whilst Rosemary and Joan of cohort I recalled helping to weigh and bag the sugar at Arthur Bell's. Another survey subject (cohort II), working at a depot from which groceries, for the main part, were delivered, helped to open the half pound bags of tea, transfer it into paper packets and pack both on to the shelves. Customers, given a choice, were charged more for the "loose tea".

CHANGING EMPLOYMENT

Change for women & children

Work in the surrounding countryside has continued whether men were available or not. Such was the case during World War I. One hundred and forty men were recruited from the parish. This number incorporated a second wave of younger men who were recruited via the "Lord Derby". This had a profound effect on village life. Twenty men were killed and the

sense of bereavement is perceptible in some present-day conversations. Another obvious effect of World War I was the large, instant reduction of the work force. Women field workers were in great demand. Many who had left this kind of employment, when they were married, returned and the part-time service of others was eagerly sought. The labour force was also reinforced by children, who were allowed to leave school before the statutory age. This affected the established routine of some families. For example, Marget's mother returned to full-time farm work and her thirteen year old daughter took over as family housekeeper.

Gradual changes were taking place. During the first two decades, employment began to be offered in the homes of a few successful local businessmen, who moved out of the quarters above their shops and into newly built large houses with attics to accommodate servants. Isa's first paid employment, in 1915, when her brothers were in the army, was as a residential maid for Mrs Pigg, the draper's wife. A weekly wage of 2s 9d was negotiated between the employer and Isa's mother "because she needed the regular money." Biddy explained that her mother was paid monthly when Biddy moved into the chemist's home, "The month afore A w's due fo' a stamp," in the thirties. She explained, "It w's a good meat hoose." Betty, who went as maid to the doctor's wife, in 1944, explained:-

Me motha got two pounds a month fo' me. I got thursday night off t' go t' the pictures an' sunday off, once a month. We could go out fo' a walk in the afternoon if we'd finished the work. Mind it wasn't often we could do that.

In 1937/38, the official bottom of the wages ladder was the agricultural labourer with a wage of 34s 7d. At this time, Rowntree (1941) estimated, "...41s with and 35/6 without rent (was needed) for a

man, wife and three dependent children to secure the necessities of a healthy family," in a rural area (p.28). However, a reliable workman could expect to be paid marginally more and, by that time, family groups were concerned with providing clothes and food rather than food (see below).

Rising expectations were also accompanied by a modest, but definite, increase in the standard of living in general, including an increase in disposable incomes, which prompted an enlarged demand for personal services. For instance, women's hair styles changed. They no longer let their hair grow to its natural length. "The bob" became fashionable and two hairdressers' shops opened.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME No. of adults 2	FAMILY OF ORIGIN No. of children 3	cohort II Survey subject 30
MEN'S Farm labourer	WOMEN'S Charwoman	GOODS
40s+3s+1s	3s+5s	wood, game, garden produce, rabbits <u>seasonal</u> mushrooms. birds' eggs
Main expenditure:- food & clothing and financial commitment to home of origin		

Being able to fulfil aspirations depends upon opportunities and employment has always been within a narrow band, in the area. Until after World War II, some girls, whose families were not in business, on leaving school at fourteen years of age, were still being sent into residential employment. However, most household incomes had increased, to such an extent, that the provision of adequate food was no longer a problem. Boys could not be guaranteed full-time employment, either, except that which was residential. Billy, unlike most of his contemporaries was an only child, and stayed at home. He was the only

male survey subject to begin work in part-time employment, as a newspaper boy, until he was offered a full-time apprenticeship by one of his mother's employers. Johny, the only cohort I survey subject to begin his working life in an apprenticeship, said of it:-

"Whey, when A was at school A was niva away from the garage. Many's the time A shud hev been at school an' A wasn't. A used t' help Edgar ivery time A cud. Most of the time A did nowt more than fetch an' carry fo' him when he was unda a car".

Apart from changing land use, the growing influence of councils and transport patterns began to affect employment patterns for the young as well as for adults. However, vacancies in the Bellingham area, for the main part, occurred at times of death, retirement or with promotion. Throughout the whole period, there was a very limited choice. Yet, there was no chance of remaining unemployed. Members of the community, the complex system of overlapping social groups, approached possible employees with offers or, alternatively, those seeking employment approached employers. Sometimes this was done through an intermediary such as a teacher or a neighbour. Even when application forms had to be filled in, such as for bank employment, the form was only a formality. Arrangements were, for the main part, made for a boy or a girl to fill whatever job was vacant on the day after leaving school. Norman explained, "When we wo' leavin' school, Tommy Armstrong got a job at the pit an' A got one on the farm. We swapt before gannin on the first day."

By the thirties, most mothers who had been engaged in residential employment themselves, and were well aware of how the young were exploited, having marginally more household income at their disposal than the previous generation, favoured keeping their children within the household group, after they had left school. The first to benefit

were boys. These employment changes were significant for village life. Increasingly, girls, aged from fourteen to sixteen, were employed part-time as maids within the village, and, thus, returned to their homes of origin, daily. They were, therefore, more likely to marry within the village. In 1942, young part-time maids worked from eight until one o'clock without being provided meals, six days each week, finishing by serving dinner, for five shillings per week. Some householders, including bank clerks and dog breeders, regularly changed their maid, employing a young girl until just before National Insurance contributions had to be paid.

Education did influence employment patterns and the few youths who had attended grammar school readily found office jobs before volunteering or being called up into the forces. Some of the girls did too. At the beginning of World War II, one was asked to take up banking, the first woman employee in a Bellingham bank whilst three others went on to Training Colleges and returned afterwards to the village. The advantage of this education for girls was not, necessarily, in the type of employment they obtained, but in the status it gave them. They tended to marry into one of the more affluent local farming families. Making a suitable marriage remained the goal for girls. Chamberlain (1975) makes a similar point that, "They live for the day when they reach maturity and have a home of their own " (p.26: see Sharpe 1976,p.8, Hoggart 1958,p.35). Older girls who had attended a private school in Hexham, were offered employment in the newly opened food office and, thus, temporarily joined the Civil Service.

A residential school, on the outskirts of the village, opened in 1939, requiring both residential and day workers as staff. However, war-

time brought rapid change as men and women were directed into the forces, the Land Army and industry, including the mines. It signalled the end of most residential and domestic employment. In common with most other areas in the country, World War II had an obvious effect on employment in the survey area. This change was very different from that which must have occurred in industrial areas. The fundamental nature of production, locally, changed very little. At a time when much of industry was engaged with products which were radically different from those which had previously been associated with the geographical location where it was sited, the major industrial activities of the survey area continued. The drive to reduce food imports was spearheaded by a system of agricultural subsidies which intensified farming activities and the demand for pit props from the Forestry Commission, one of the main purposes for which it was created after World War I, also increased demands on the local labour force. The dominant trend instigated by World War II was, therefore, an intensification of the existing industrial activities in and around the village.

Some Bellingham married women and girls, from fourteen to eighteen years of age, formed agricultural gangs under the direction of Mrs Parker, who was a full-time member of the Land Army and the only one to wear a uniform. The gangs, who took the place of absent men, were paid as each piece of work was completed and local men, such as the rector, were delegated to drive them to where they were needed. Farmers and estate owners were not slow to assess the women's work and several women were offered alternative full-time employment. Isa and Kitty were allowed to stay on in the Duke's woods, despite Mrs Parker's objections to "the poaching". Biddy, who had been attracted into a much superior

maid's job in the Meadow household, for an evacuee family, was directed back into her previous employment. Goodwin, who had been taken to Scotland, befriended by the retiring manager of Brownrigg school, was directed back to work at the Moss hen farm.

Other women made weekly money by incorporating evacuees into their household groups. Twenty years after boys had begun to travel daily to work, village girls began to live at home and travel daily, by bus, for more attractive employment was on offer, when a bakery and shop, in a neighbouring village, expanded. Sheila recalled, of 1946:-

A got nineteen shillin's a week. Dinners cost 3s 6d a week, 'n 3s 6d fo' the bus. Me motha got the lot afta that. Y' only ast fo' the odd shillin' t' gan t' the dance.

Kathleen, at the same time, working in the residential school, was being paid, "14s 10d a week with not a lot o' time off", and giving the lot to her mother, too. Girls, also began to travel to Hexham, to take up positions in shops and offices and, for the first time, almost all part-time domestic employment, in the village, was left to married women whose services were in great demand, giving them a choice of employers. Consequently, a few household groups, who had always employed maids, were left without any help, until young German women, with and without an accompanying child, found residential employment at the cessation of World War II. Still, workers were in short supply. The gap was temporarily filled on the farms by German prisoners of war and on the forestry by displaced persons who were housed in hostels in the valley. Again, this caused friction as the number of men seeking partners was dramatically increased.

As more women were drawn back into the work force, additional tasks had to be covered by the pre-dominant age group, school children

(see chapter 5). The demand was such, that, for the first time, they could all expect payment and the beginning of a young paid work force was established. The youngest made a few pence running errands, the older helped by the younger picked rose hips at two-pence per pound and senior pupils at elementary schools were officially allowed to be absent to pick potatoes. Teachers and the local attendance officer met other absences from school, during peak times of activity on the farms, with sympathetic understanding. Older children were employed to baby-sit, child-mind, help to deliver milk and newspapers daily and serve in shops. Children travelled with van and lorry drivers to open gates and help with deliveries.

Training

Grammar school education had opened the way for some boys to join an expanding clerical group of workers, and a few girls to become unqualified teachers. During the war, office places were taken by girls who had attended private schools and grammar school girls went on to train as teachers. As grammar schools expanded, girls became clerical assistants and, during the last twenty years, increasingly, clerical employment has become open to those of less ability but who have received training. Over time, a general increase is seen in training available for young people, particularly for boys. Whereas three cohort I survey men received some form of training on leaving school, six of cohort II men received training for future employment and all of cohort III men. The latter included traditional apprenticeships, university courses and government training schemes. To some extent this reflects recent patterns of employment in the area, for as adults no longer need their children's earnings as a part of household income, they choose to

give their children opportunities to train. Again a marked increase is seen in the number of cohort III women, six in all, who entered a form of training course or work experience. These included teacher training, trainee cookery, nursing, Y.T.S schemes, and community programmes.

By the seventies and eighties, poverty and fear of destitution were of the past, state intervention had escalated and the aspirations of parents and survey subjects of cohort III were no longer as restricted by local conditions. Young people entering the work force were more inclined to take advantage of national schemes. These had obviously been devised to cope with growing unemployment. It seems paradoxical that there was an enthusiasm for these schemes from the people in an area which was, at the time of the construction of the dam, importing labour, and even offering incentives such as bonuses, free travel, hostel accommodation and the use of residential caravans. However, all the fathers were employed as well as having the opportunity to move into more lucrative work, mothers could make extra on the side, and they and their children could look to the future. There was no need for the survey subjects of cohort III to accept the first employment that was on offer.

Change in men's work

Goldthorpe et al suggest that:-

> ...men at around age 35...that is a stage at which one may expect, if not a cessation, at all events a marked falling off in the probability of job changes involving major shifts of occupational level (1980.p.9).

A similar pattern was revealed by this survey. There has been well paid employment within the area at the Vickers' Armstrong testing ground in the thirties and forties and since World War II, at various times, erecting electric poles, timber felling, road-making and dam

construction work. Young men have chosen to change employment and, in some cases, to follow the national firms as they moved on. However, in all cases, after a very short time, they have returned, very often returning to their previous employer. Most survey men changed employment frequently until they reached their thirties, usually seeking more money but manual workers, eventually looked for work which allowed them security and to "have clean hands and a collar and tie". Consequently being a driver, particularly an ambulance driver or an employee of the Newcastle & Gateshead Water Company, is the most sought after manual employment, today. Only three of the twelve cohort I men, (none of cohort II) have stayed in the same employment field throughout their working lives, a mechanic, a farmer and a bank employee. However, the farmer is the only one to have remained in the same setting until retirement and more than half the youngest cohort of men have already changed their employment.

CHANGE- ECONOMY, WORK & THE COMMUNITY

In common with other parts of the north country, Bellingham has reacted to national and regional development, including economic changes and improved communications and transport. However, the particular character of the social system which supports it and the special hierarchical position, which it occupies in the district, heavily influences the nature, the extent and the direction of such changes.

Before World War II it was an economic and social focus for numerous satellite population centres which took the form of small villages, hamlets and small groups of houses centred on local farms or estates. Some of these, as well as groups of quarrymen's cottages, pit

cottages and railwaymen's houses were clearly occupational settlements. Changes which followed the end of World War II were much more apparent with regard to these settlements than they were to the main village. The private estates declined, and many of the small industries which supported these settlements became redundant as post war development progressed into the fifties and the increased mechanization, which occurred at the same time, greatly reduced the size of the work force required by others. Since the accompanying improvement in transport facilities, was coupled with an increased affluence of the workers, their commuting range was greatly extended. Consequently, many of the remaining jobs that would have formerly necessitated residence in an occupational settlement were filled by residents of Bellingham who commuted. The general movement of much of the rest of the work force, no longer required by the reduced and redundant industries, was towards relatively newly created jobs in the service industries, such as motor transport.

These workers, influenced, no doubt, by the provision of council housing also gravitated towards residence in the village. This general tendency was further reinforced as the post war housing crisis subsided during the fifties when the newly created forestry villages began to slowly depopulate, as workers and their families showed a marked reluctance to live in isolated occupational groups, many preferring established communities such as Bellingham. When many of the houses in these villages had been unoccupied for periods of several years, the Forestry Commission began to sell them on the open market. This change of strategy also included the establishment of Bellingham as the border centre for the Commission. This was in keeping with the tendency shown

by regional agencies, such as the ambulance service, the fire service, and the county highway authority, to establish district centres in the village. Consequently, post war development has emphasized the local importance of Bellingham, which has continued to grow in size both as a rural population centre and an employment centre. Such a changing settlement pattern is not unique, polarisation of population in rural areas is a national phenomenon (see chapter 3). Nevertheless, at a point in historical time when economic development has been equated with community decline prompted by factors such as the break-up of occupational communities, as in the case of mining villages, and the severance of spatial ties occasioned by commuting, the same factors have fostered the continuance and expansion of Bellingham.

Employment opportunities for the residents of Bellingham continue to be dominated by work generated in the locality of the village. There is no one employer in the area who engages the services of a group of villagers that could be categorized as anything but small. During the earlier part of the period under examination farm work offered the main source of employment opportunities. This has now been superseded by a combination of transport, forestry work and service industries.

Farms still provide work sites and dwelling places for the nuclear household groups of the tenants or owners. However, since World War II, the job opportunities provided by farms has declined to such an extent that, today, they tend to be run by the family, without any outside help. In some cases they are not even able to provide employment for the farmer's family of procreation. In more than one case a farmer's only son has found it necessary to seek employment elsewhere, in an allied form of work, until his parents have retired and made room for him. Even

larger farms, which do offer jobs to resident members of the nuclear family, rely on an input of non-waged work. Bobby, a childless farmer, related his difficulties and explained that:

> The better farms are generally the family farms and therefore they are rather more viable. Where the son doesn't necessarily get the same wage as a hired man as it were. Because the farm's coming to him. It's an investment for him, too.

Although the most potent part of the notable expansion in the village service industries, which has occurred during the period under examination, may be directly due to macro societal developments, such as country-wide transport and increased resources at regional and national level, the effects of this, via a general increase in personal affluence, are clearly discernible within the community economy. For instance, the number of jobbing builders, joiners, painters & decorators, electricians & plumbers and self employed odd job men has increased as the elderly have been offered social security payments to cover the cost of home maintenance and minor adaptations to combat their infirmity. Another prop to the employment prospects, and thence the local economy, has been the development of Otterburn Camp, as a NATO training centre. In addition to steady employment for a small group of villagers, it provides, at peak times of activity on the Otterburn moors, much supplementary work for a variety of tradesmen, at high rates of pay. Partly as a result of this kind of economic support, fourteen per cent of adult males, who are resident in the village are either self-employed or employed in family businesses.

Bellingham's importance, as a local centre of employment, owes much to evolution and expansion during the latter half of the survey period, including the establishment there of the district middle school, the

local medical centre, the fire station, the Forestry Commission offices and a depot for the county council highways department. The jobs thus created include the forty two people employed by local councils, in a variety of full-time and part-time jobs. The range is wide and includes dinner ladies, drivers, dustmen, library staff, teachers and roadmen. Twenty-three are employed by the National Health Service and D.H.S.S., in several fields, ranging from doctors and nurses to home helps. Nevertheless a considerable amount of the employment generated by the village's local status relies on its traditional role. It is still the area centre for sheep sales and the service its shops, banks and tradesmen offer the surrounding district is an important part of their businesses.

One facet of employment, in which the degree of change is not immediately obvious, without a careful comparison of the social and economic situations of community members as they existed at the early part of the period under examination and those of their successors of today, is the divisive nature of job categories. During the early part of the century, the community population could be regarded as being in two distinct parts, according to their employment prospects. Together with the local landed gentry, those members with superior job status, for example, farmers, craftsmen, tradesmen, professionals and their kin formed the permanent core around whom the community way of life revolved and positions of authority lay with them. Their family lives tended to be secure and their household groups, relatively stable.

In contrast, family groups of unskilled labourers were subject to constant change. Lacking permanent contracts, it was often necessary for men to seek employment away from the village, and it was standard

practice for their children to be sent to residential posts. In the wake of men obtaining employment elsewhere, farm labourers' families seemed constantly on the move and railway workers' family groups came and went on a regular basis as the men obtained promotion or were posted to other areas. The result of this situation changing is twofold. Both the family groups and the community group are now more stable.

A review of the employment situation, in the community today, reveals that this section is now one of the more stable elements of the work force. Only five married men are now in employment which takes them away. They are on contract work in the Middle East. This, with its generous home leave provision, allows them much more contact with their families than absentee workers of earlier years. In the earlier part of the period under examination, men were subject to six monthly or yearly absences from home, punctuated by little more than a weekend at home when they attended a hiring mart, once a regular feature of the employment scene.

Geographical mobility is, nowadays, a characteristic of members of the professional sector which, with the exception of methodist ministers and Roman catholic priests, provided a prominent example of permanence during the earlier part of the survey period. In recent years, factors such as reorganisation and career enhancement have prompted a regular turnover of members of the professions, and occupants of senior salaried posts such as Forestry Commission district officers. They are these types of appointees who continue to provide the only significant community group which is subject to regular change, as they join and leave the village, often during the procreation stage of life. Community members who have entered this area of employment have been no exception

to this trend, but it is common for them to return to the community when they retire.

More recently, there has been a tendency for farmers, who have reached the end of their working lives, to move into the main village. This is, doubtless, connected with the nation-wide increase in personal affluence, during the survey period. Nevertheless such a practice tends to emphasize the role of the village, as a focus of local life and intensify inter-group connections within it. This is in line with other apparent increases in cohesion within the community, attributable to the decreased demands of current employment. Kinship bonds, for example, are reinforced by another aspect of the improved conditions. In the village of today, half the men have contact with their families during the working day. Hours for employees and employers in small businesses remain flexible and often irregular. To some extent the same is true of local representatives of larger organizations, despite schedules which would suggest otherwise.

Another change over the course of the survey period, which has affected the significance of employment in the matter of household economy and, thence, its relative importance in the local economy in general is the development of welfare services, both at local and national level. A prominent consequence of this is the availability of support in the form of regular payments, grants and the provision of services and equipment at a level which was unheard of during the earlier part of the period, when the only mandatory safety net was provided by Poor Law relief. This, which included possible admission to the work house, entailed the imposition of a stigma on the recipient and his kin. Advances in this sphere have had a considerable effect on both

the level of income of the community households and the sense of security that it provides, in the form of freedom from the background threat of destitution.

The current situation is that the majority of the community households rely partially or wholly on resources which are part of the welfare services introduced during the period under discussion. Much of this provision is now taken for granted as part of the rights of citizenship. Community members freely admit that they receive benefits such as the tenancy of a subsidized bungalow when they reach retirement age, a mobility allowance when age causes a degree of infirmity, supplementary benefits for fuel, a home help and attendance allowances. Other forms of financial support are so firmly entrenched that the precise amounts they represent are often discussed. For instance, those who have previously been given financial help to cover funeral costs, ensure that the recently bereaved, apply for their entitlements, too. These benefits are now clearly regarded as part of the income associated with reasonable levels of expectation of quality of life.

During the earlier part of this century, household groups were, with very few exceptions, self-reliant. Their standards, with regard to basic necessities, were considerably lower than those of the present day and part of the strategy needed to achieve this economic necessity was a degree of self-sufficiency. The survey subjects indicated that, during this time, by far the main need for money was to buy food. In discussions about life in the late forties and fifties, both food and clothes were mentioned as features of the principal expenditure. This was emended, with regard to the late sixties and seventies, when rent, holidays and cars predominated, the provision of food and clothes being,

apparently taken for granted. Nowadays, mortgage, is also included in the list.

Payment patterns have, also, changed. Today, among community members, money changes hands on a daily basis. Where larger sums are involved, there is usually a disparity between the amount needed for the settlement of a bill in cash and that required if it is paid by cheque. An informal transaction, in cash, is usually 20% cheaper than a similar settlement which involves a cheque and some form of documentation, such as a bill. Businesses are on such a small scale that credit cards are little used within the village except in banks, hotels and garages, which cater for outsiders. Limited credit is readily extended to credit worthy customers from within the community, where personal credit rating is part of a member's social identity.

One of the main functions of a household group, at the beginning of the period, was the provision of security for its members. This function has now been partially superseded by the safety net which is provided by a combination of local and national agencies, such as the D.H.S.S. and meals on wheels.

CONCLUSION

The social and geographical context of employment remains such that work, home life and social responsibilities are interconnected parts of a dominant community spectrum, influencing the attitudes of employers and employees alike. These various commitments overlap to such an extent that they are, at times, difficult to consider separately. For instance, despite the introduction of laws and regulation, such as the provisions for safety at work, the practice of children accompanying adults, men

and women, during working hours, when parents and their colleagues are also involved in the supervision of children, has continued until the present day.

An examination of the employment situation in Bellingham, during the period being studied, shows that, in common with most other aspects of community life, there have been marked changes in working practices and patterns of employment. Clearly, they have also been a part of the community's response to external influences. These include trends which were engendered by multi-level societal development, stimulated by technological advances and the evolution of public utilities. The tendency towards centralization and specialization which, at the outset, made Bellingham a focus for much activity in its immediate locality, ultimately led to the re-location of some of the activities in question. Increased specialization paradoxically resulted in the disappearance of some of the specialist services, skills and crafts which flourished in the community during the earlier part of the survey period. Due, to a large extent, to the increased mobility of the community membership even the points of sale of many of the articles thus produced are now, in nearby towns and cities.

Another effect of the same trend is that many services survive in more specialist hands and posts involving multiple professional responsibilities covering diverse areas of activity are largely obsolete. For example, the combined posts such as school master and gas company secretary or multiple functions such as clerk to the rural district council, superintendent registrar to Bellingham union, clerk to guardians and assessment board of the work house and clerk to school attendance committees are now firmly in the past. The, now defunct posts

which were held in combination by community members early in the survey period were obviously part-time appointments and it is clear that the main skill required by the appointees was a relatively high level of numeracy and literacy, rather than particular professional qualifications. Such conclusions are implicit in the wide range of appointments involved such as those of the grocer, who was also registrar of births & deaths, vaccination officer, school attendance officer, inquiry officer and inspector of nuisances for the rural district council (see chapter 5).

Some of these posts, such as that of registrar and teacher, are relevant to life today. However, the incumbents are no longer responsible to organizations and authorities within the community area. For example the Reed Charity School closed in the middle fifties and the present schools are run by the local education authority, institutionalized care of those without means of support has been taken over by the social services from the parish council, and Bellingham Rural District Council, since the reorganization of local authorities in England and Wales, no longer exists. Current holders of these posts are now accountable to authorities outside the locality, who are also responsible for selecting appointees. This has led to the holders of some posts, for example the surveyor, being resident outside the village. Nevertheless, the same phases which prompted these changes also spawned developments which, not only provided more employment opportunities than had been lost by the community, but also tended to re-emphasize the village's role as employment and social centre of the district.

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

Bellingham is a well established dynamic community, the majority of its members having been there for a long time. Newcomers are co-opted into it but they represent a very small minority of the membership. This community constitutes a clearly discernible social system which encompasses inter-relationships between individuals, social groups and institutions, providing a strong framework for a distinct, local, social structure. The members are conscious of its history, a circumstance which feeds the strong sense of belonging that is common to them all. Important parts of their social identities include the names which have been assigned to them by their peers and their connections, especially kinship, with former members of the social system. Both these aspects have status implications for current members and continue to apply to many of the community members of the past. There are more concrete examples of continuity and this sense of time. For instance the "Town Hall", a substantial stone building, which was raised by public subscription last century, is still managed independently of local government and largely depends upon revenue generated by village functions and fund raising. To the villagers it is a symbol of the distinctive quality of their community.

The strong sense of group identity which unites the membership owes much to the primary socialization of the majority, and the influences of the social background in which it takes place. One of the consequences of this is an adherence to a system of beliefs and code of conduct, which clearly have a moulding effect on members' lives. The community has its own social mores and a scale of values to which

members subscribe. Such learned, shared standards bind individuals together and shape their future.

Mingay (1990) points out that "regional and local variations" create one of the great problems with regard to obtaining even "a broad picture of the past", explaining that "the variety in depth" is such that, "...the history of each individual hamlet, village or country town has a strong element of the unique". He concludes that anyone who seeks to "...draw the national picture cannot hope do justice to this diversity" (p.IX/X). My current task is concerned with one social system. During the time span covered by this research, it has continued to change in an evolutionary manner. Influences and pressures, external to it, have effected development from within, provoking modification, throughout the lives of the members of all three cohorts. The need for change has been implicitly accepted and implemented by alterations in established standards and values and by generating new. Paradoxically, such a practice of change has contributed to the overall stability of the community. Over time, the membership of the group has changed and the size and nature of its constituent sub-groups have altered. However, the village population has continued as a social entity. It is to a large extent self defined, is concerned with locally accepted territorial perception but derives much of its cohesive strength from group allegiance.

HOUSEHOLDS

As this study progressed, many important elements in the development and operation of the community were revealed. However, the paramount importance of the household group is without question. It is

essential, not only to the quality of life within the local system, but to the very existence of Bellingham as a community. Snapshots of household groups at historical points in time fail to indicate the importance of the nuclear group. Biographical time rectifies this. At the core of most groups continues to be the nuclear family, which has been initiated by a pair bonded couple who have founded it by assuming the role of parents. In a small minority of cases, the lack of offspring affects the group relatively early during its existence.

As with most aspects of community life, the composition of household groups is subject to change but unlike the community, they have a finite existence. Their decline is usually prefaced by transformation to the depleted stage and in most cases they end with the death of the last member, or his/her absorption by another household group. However, to some extent, they reflect the evolutionary character of the community as a whole, constantly changing their size, attributes, and even the precise nature of their inter-connections, in accord with the births, deaths, changes in status and ageing of their members, in addition to responses triggered by extrinsic influences. They exist for relatively short periods of time, and the community, of which they are composed, is sustained by their replacements.

Household groups were larger and subject to many more changes in their composition, during the first half of the century, than they are now. At that time, during periods of severe illness, child birth or death, it was usual for an additional relative to be incorporated into a household group. At childbirth, it tended to be the wife's mother and at other times her spinster sister. Patients who could not be cured were sent from the infirmary to be nursed at home. When work was difficult to

find or money was needed, a husband and teen-age children were sent into residential employment. Children, relatives or the offspring of the poor, were borrowed or hired to become part of the work force in other household groups.

The interaction of household groups and their response to external pressures are a substantial part of the operation of the community. The consequences of change or development in one particular group is transmitted, in modified form, to other social groups, along chains composed of both direct and indirect connections. There is also clear evidence of the longitudinal transmission of household group influence, even after the demise of the senior group. The medium through which this is effected is usually kinship connections or firmly established relationships such as those within neighbourhood enclaves, schools and churches.

The constant modifications and developments, which are an essential part of the very essence of the community, are obvious from an examination of the Bellingham household groups. They have continually adapted to the introduction of both local and national regulations and the applications of pressures at both levels and have evolved in response to social trends and changing conditions, reacting to changing employment patterns, technological progress and societal development in general. Even so, there is a local facet in their development. For example, the single household founded by a young single person is foreign to the community, "bachelor pads" and "bedsits" being the province of "outsiders". However, local developments in the provision for the old, shows that a system has evolved which, for the main part, allows them to live independent lives. Consequently, the number of

households has tended to multiply, as well as decrease in size, during the period being considered by this study. Sheltered accommodation has been developed in the village and the recently available, nursing home facilities taken up by community members, within an hotel complex at nearby Otterburn are probably unique.

A household group accepts an input from all its members including resources from its more productive, more skilful and more affluent members. Thus, it tends to equalize disparities, counteracting instability. It also plays an important part, in this role, throughout other groups to which either it, or any of its members, owe allegiance. For example, it directs physical or financial resources towards alleviating pressure in the kinship group, the neighbourhood enclave and the wider community. Household groups are essential in the matter of the transmission of community intelligence and the promulgation and implementation of community standards and implicit decisions. These include threats of community status reduction, in the event of an individual shirking or ignoring responsibilities attributed to him/her by common consent and public expression of approbation, in respect of individuals who have been particularly dutiful or unselfish. The efficiency of this form of control relies upon communication within the household group itself, where information is freely available. Information, often labelled as gossip, crosses generation gaps and moves, indirectly, between the widely differing vested interests. Thus villagers are conversant with areas of the community with which they would normally have limited direct contact and are constantly updated in respect of details such as community developments and local social change and their ramifications. This provides the community with

facilities to monitor, and self regulate by exerting influence and control, in response to what is virtually a continuous plebiscite among its members.

Recently, there has also been an increase in the mean level of liaison and communication between household groups, occasioned by a need for middle aged people to monitor the elderly and infirm in a more deliberate way than would have been necessary, had they co-opted them into their own household groups, as in the past. This increase has also, to a limited extent, affected the character and the role of the family household group. For instance, it is no longer regarded as abnormal for the house of a family of procreation to be unoccupied, for even a short period, during the day. Children returning from school, at the end of the day, still seek the care and companionship of their grandparents, but this is now to be found outside their own household group. The image of home, as the focus of constantly available care, comfort and attention is also affected by the fact that children now tend to spend considerable time in other household groups such as those of their grandparents or elderly neighbours.

In accordance with national changes, the village households have accommodated the severe impacts of war and the transition between the contrasting conditions of welfare support being centred on the work house through war-time austerity, "the Welfare State" and "the consumer society" of the sixties and seventies. Even the process of initiating a household group has changed greatly during the period under examination. During the earlier part of the survey period, it was not an unusual practice for a nuclear family to be established within the home of the family of origin of one of its founders, before it moved away to form a

new household group. The current practice, however, is that when pair-bonding reaches the stage of the cohabitation of the couple concerned, it is in a newly established household. Since World War II, the District Council's practice of allowing an engaged couple to apply for a tenancy has ensured that young people stay in the village.

One very important function of the household group, in its role as the home of the family of origin, is the provision of solace or sanctuary, for the family offspring or their children, during times of acute pressure or feelings of particular vulnerability. In the earlier part of the time span in question, this usually meant the provision of basic necessities such as food and shelter. Latterly, this has more often entailed providing a temporary home, offering reassurance, a refuge from the problems of life and emotional comfort.

KINSHIP

Even though the household groups are finite, this is not so in the case of other groups which occur largely as a result of their natural affinity and resultant social activities. In this, the kinship group as a part of the mutating framework, is a compound of household groups, which gives a sense of continuity between the very distant past and future. They extend the sense of belonging from the family of origin households to other groups within the community. This clearly provides an important part of the background which contributes to a community member's sense of belonging, a characteristic of the community membership, which is broadly based in the community, rather than solely confined to a relatively small family group. It also seems to be connected with members' concepts of appropriateness, role and identity

being closely associated with residence in the community. Members, both past and present, are identified by their kinship connections. On occasions, this even includes the community enclave where most of their deceased kin used to live.

However, many of the multiple connections between household groups, which are a vital part of the fabric of the community, are also dependent on the linkage between households. The cohesion between these groups, a necessary circumstance for the existence of the community in its present form, relies heavily on affine connections affiliating household groups from differing extended families. This extends throughout the whole system, enmeshing groups who are apparently unrelated, through a web of kinship and affinity ties.

Kinship groups have clearly changed. The alterations include size, texture and gender dominance. There has been a distinct movement away from the very dominant patrilineal bias which was so pronounced at the outset of the survey period and continued for most of this century. This obviously has connections with the changing balance of longevity between the sexes and the falling need for young people, particularly those who are female, to be geographically mobile in connection with their employment. Nowadays, a pair bonded couple is marginally more likely to settle in the vicinity of the home of the woman's family of origin than the man's, thus altering the gender bias between the affine connections and kin connections of the newly established household and promoting the woman's access to nearby kin contacts. However, because of marriage patterns, it is still usual to have both families of origin living within the same district.

The reduced geographical mobility of the young people endorses the

durability of the already firmly established kinship groups and the affine connections which reinforce them. This tends to increase the number of residents who are part of these family linkages. In addition to this, the greater longevity, particularly of women, by increasing the number of living generations and households in the groups, has fostered an increased awareness of the longitudinal bonds within the kinship groups. This has greatly strengthened kinship connections in this inter-generational direction as the reduction in the size of procreational families has reduced the possible number of lateral contacts.

In this context, however, the affine connections are of considerable importance. Not least among their functions is the appropriate provision of community acceptance for an incomer. For example, an outsider, who marries a member of an established kinship group, is automatically provided with the option of both advantages and responsibilities connected with the group and, on offering a modicum of cooperation, is soon accorded status, which is not readily available to others, and is accorded accelerated community membership.

It seems that those factors which prompted a reduction in the size of the nuclear family have also, indirectly, affected the relative strengths of bonds between nuclear groups in the same generation of the kinship group and those between nuclear groups and the families of origin of the parents. During the childhood of cohort I, for example, the relatively large families of origin of their parents tended to provide a very large group of second degree kin, with a correspondingly wide range of ages. Consequently, the other community groups to which they belonged were liable to contain one of this kinship group,

resulting in reinforcement of the cohesion between second degree kin, and therefore, an acceptance of this strength of bonding. The subsequent fall in the size of the family of origin has greatly reduced the size of the second degree kinship group.

In the wake of this development, community members, accustomed to the support of kin, have increasingly turned to first degree relations. The overall effect of this development has been to create kinship groups in which the major strength of commitment and cohesion is a vertical one, in chronological terms. Between nuclear groups of the same generation the sense of family membership is still strong, those connections are still clearly acknowledged as valuable by household groups, and important in the community context, but they are distinctly attenuated, in comparison with those to be found at the beginning of the century.

UNPAID WORK- CARE

Within the memory of most subjects of this study, there was a time when welfare services were of three categories, professional services which were paid for, those which took the form of acts of charity and those which were provided as part of a social group's community responsibility. At that time, the limited financial resources of most of the subjects precluded any but the most sparing use of professional help and charitable assistance was largely confined to either the most rudimentary provision, such as work house admission or help in dire emergency, as was the case with admission to the infirmary for hospital treatment. Most caring took place within the household group. Infirm elderly relatives or paid "guests" were incorporated within another

household group or were joined by a nuclear family. However, the group was often strengthened, temporarily, by one of the children's spinster aunts. The majority of welfare provision was, therefore, from sources within the community, usually as obligations associated with the membership of a sub-group or the discharge of implicit duties which were accepted as part of community life.

Most of the caring to be found in today's community is merely a development of that which was present at the turn of the century. For example, it is still part of kinship obligations, with some support arising from neighbourhood group affiliations and it is induced by perceptions of need on the part of the donating group rather than requests from the recipient. There are also situations, when it is provided as part of a standard response, which would have elicited agreement from community members more than a century ago, such as during illness, childbirth and death. The value of it in the community of today is more readily appreciated if it is borne in mind that a significant part of the service provided is the emotional support that is indicated by some aspects of the term caring. Even though it may be possible to regard some of the support involved as practical help rather than consolation or solace, there is obviously a distinct element of therapeutic comfort in all community care. This is particularly so in view of the providers, being close social contacts, and the voluntary nature of the provision. However, free medical care, free travel to hospitals for patients, free hospitalisation at child birth, during illness and death belong to the second half of this century.

Nevertheless, other characteristics of the caring situation in Bellingham have altered markedly over the course of the period being

researched. The practice of incorporating elderly family members into the households of families at the procreation stage is now rare. It has been discontinued in favour of providing the support necessary to maintain them in their own independent units. Other forms of care, which were the domain of the women approximated to what is now provided by the "home help system". The main difference in this particular field is that some of the people who perform the tasks are now paid for it. This assistance is, in most cases, supplemented by help from neighbours and the abetment of the community at large. The lack of privacy in the village and the active network of community intelligence, generated by gossip, prompts modifications in the type and level of care as necessary.

Much of the extra time and many of the additional resources which are needed to maintain the system, as opposed to the earlier practice, are only possible because of improvements in living standards, which have occurred during the period of change. These include pensions and social security provision for the recipients and, increases in both the disposable incomes and free time of the donors. The same group of elderly people are also assisted by another major care provision, which became available to all members of the community during the same span of time, the provision of free medical care.

This improvement in provision and the introduction of new attitudes to ill health and infirmity, which it encouraged, has reduced the care necessary, on a per capita basis, for the elderly. Other factors, however, such as the increased longevity of the population and the maintenance of more households mean that, in total, there has been an increased demand for community care. In the same area, there has also

been an obvious change with regard to its source. Although there is, as ever, a special relationship, especially in kinship groups, between the old and the young, the care of the old no longer relies on the efforts of young relatives or borrowed children. Today, the care of the elderly shows a significant increase, but the major part of this care is now shouldered by their children, who are nearing retirement age or have actually retired.

This development has a knock on effect and is tending to move the major focus of care further towards children. The system now requires less from these young people, in the form of unpaid work in this area, but an increased number of them have more grandparents, and even great grandparents, to provide them with a higher level of support and supervision. This increased inter-generational social interaction clearly reinforces the continuity of the group and the socialization of its membership. The changing situation, throughout the survey period, indicates an increasing importance of the role of grandparents, especially that of grandmother and great grandmother. This is particularly evident in the matter of a child gaining a special sense of security from the knowledge that there is more than one household to which he/she has access by right. It also allows for more careful monitoring of potential marriage partners for young adults.

Additionally, because men's employment and village life are closely related, they remain closely involved, also, in the care of the children. In most cases, fatherhood, for them, has affected their working lives as well as their home lives. The children's longer holidays of the second half of this century and after school hours are

distinguished by men being accompanied by their children, and, in some cases, the children of others, at work as well as at home.

ASPECTS OF SELF SUPPORT

The division between community care and contributions to the household group in the form of unpaid work tends, in some areas, to be somewhat blurred. The formulation of definitions does little to resolve this. For example, defining unpaid work in the home as effort without remuneration, directed towards the benefit of the household group means that exertions which provide food or warmth for a family which is supporting an elderly relative constitute both support for the home and care. Each form of unpaid work is, therefore, categorized according to its main purpose and principal effect. Those efforts largely concerned with providing resources or support for individual people's special needs are regarded as part of care and those which can be regarded primarily as contributions to the household group are regarded as unpaid work.

To be involved in unpaid work, continues to be a part of the personal obligations of an individual which are so widely accepted as to be beyond question but, as with most aspects of community life, it has been subject to change. One of the effects of a reduction in working hours, an increase in the level of disposable income and the introduction of new technology and labour saving devices has been to alter the nature, scope and areas of application of this form of work. The evolution of more complex concepts of role in the wider fields of national and international criteria have had an effect, although in some instances a very muted one, on the community's concepts. In concert with

this evolution of ideas and alteration in material provisions, the perception of what was appropriate to the various roles, especially those which were largely gender defined, has altered. This has had an appreciable effect on the extent and involvement in unpaid work of village members. For example, during the second half of this century men have been increasingly drawn into the inside of the house. It is now the site of some of men's unpaid work, as they indulge in D.I.Y. tasks and their wives, freed from long hours of cooking and cleaning by domestic technology and convenience foods, are now more at liberty to extend their unpaid work beyond the bounds of the house and the current situation indicates that in recent years this has been a growing trend. Faced with a less demanding schedule of work and less drastic budget restrictions, women are spending progressively less time working in their own home whilst men appear to be increasing the amount of time they spend working there or with the household group, during leisure time, particularly in the role of "driver". The need for this has increased as more villagers spend some time in Newcastle or Hexham hospitals ensuring that their visitors have to rely, for the most part, on private transport.

Unpaid work within the community, this particular form of indirect input, is just as common among men as women, for it incorporates professional skills, which are provided free in the case of some minor tasks, or at a substantial discount for major undertakings. Although the present outline of unpaid work is merely the details of a particular stage in the evolution of the social group, which is the result of a dynamic system of change, it is a fair reflection of community development to regard World War II as a principal watershed in respect

of most of the changes in the accepted designation of roles which have occurred during the period being examined. The abrupt shift in social pressures, use of resources and availability of disposable income which attended wartime conditions and the post war era provided the socio-economic background which was the precursor of the improvement in living standards and life chances which allowed these developments. Most of the alterations in the patterns of unpaid work can be fairly linked to increased affluence or adjustments made as a result of this. The most obvious of these is the degree to which community members, having more free time, now extend their activities into households other than their own, in particular those with kinship connections. This has produced a strengthening of inter-household bonds and a divergence of community connections as well as the primary effect of re-directing resources. The borrowing of a child, a sister or an aunt from one household group and incorporating her/him temporarily or permanently into another seems of the past. Today, it is not unusual for an elderly widower to continue to live in his own home.

Despite modification in many of its facets, the essential nature of unpaid work has been unaffected by the passage of time. It is triggered by perceptions of need and a sense of caring between community members. It provides a general sense of security which spreads across the full width of the social system and the obligations and benefits associated with it are closely allied to the sense of belonging which the community evokes in its members. Another continuing source of motivation seems to be the accumulated community status that is provided by acknowledgement of special skills and eventually "local fame" for this.

CONCLUSION

EMPLOYMENT

At the beginning of the survey period the level of affluence of the overwhelming number of community members was such that the collective financial security of the household group relied very heavily indeed upon the input of resources which came from the full-time, part-time, seasonal and casual employment of its members. It was necessary for the group, that the potential of all its members, in the matter of their earning capacity, was exploited to the full. Failure to do this or any restriction in this sphere, to which the members were subject had an obvious adverse affect upon the living standards and, in some cases, even the physical well being of the individuals in the group. The balance between income and the cost of providing basic necessities was so fine that the loss of the principal earner, or his/her incapacitation at times, meant that the group could be dependent upon parish relief, which offered scant support, pauper status and stigma.

The gradual improvement in the prospects of the community membership, in this particular area, was dramatically accelerated by the boost represented by the implementation of the National Health Service in 1948. Conditions for the villagers have, in general, improved since then and the fiercer threats associated with poverty have been removed, in the face of increasing, diverse, welfare provision. In addition, conventions governing the appropriate use of household resources have gradually widened. Labour saving devices, in the form of domestic technology, are now regarded as standard household equipment and proper use of family income is now seen to include luxury items and leisure pursuits. Meanwhile, the majority of community household groups rely on some form of income supplement to enable them to maintain this recently

developed life style.

Both the type of employment on offer and the proximity of some of the work places have changed markedly over the section of the life span of the community being considered. Apprenticeships in rural crafts, together with small family business of which they were once a significant part, have declined greatly. Residential employment has been drastically reduced and some recognized part-time employment is on offer to women. Advances in transport and standards of living have greatly increased the scope of the community membership with regard to the accessibility of employment in other districts, opportunities to obtain skills and qualifications and in the range and choice of employment. The same developments have also affected the character of some parts of that section of employment which has continued through the years, such as the mechanization which is now an integral part of arable farming.

Nevertheless, the essence of some activities, which are part of the traditional work practices, continue without fundamental alteration. The ancestors of the present inhabitants of the village, who are separated from them by three or four generations, would readily recognize working sheep dogs, the extra work associated with lambing and haymaking, would know the best pools to fish and find free sources of food. Perhaps this thread of continuity is one of the most important channels by which the community has an obvious influence on aspects of the employment with which it is connected, including accepted norms of expectation, which influence working practices and employee loyalty.

Even the process by which employees are recruited has undergone a revolutionary change. Most of the subjects of cohort one would, as young people, obtain work by attending "hirings", as outlined in chapter 7.

CONCLUSION

The brief verbal exchange, its implications, trust, the reliance on impressions and knowledge of local reputations, on the surface, has now been largely replaced. Today, written forms such as formal terms of contract, agreed working conditions and union rules govern much of the working practices, but only a minority of the current work force have obtained their jobs by formal written application, in answer to advertisements. Filling in an application form has tended to follow a verbal agreement on employment having been reached.

Wagés have improved greatly, and the method of payment has also altered. Cohort I members, who obtained employment at the "hirings" were paid the agreed sum at the end of the standard six monthly period or it was paid to their family of origin. Until then, they were provided with only payment in kind which was part of their employment conditions, such as food for those who "lived in" and rent free cottages and concessionary food such as milk and potatoes for those who did not. Today, wages are paid directly into bank or building society accounts or cash changes hands.

Comparisons between demographic details of members of all three cohorts, during the same relative parts of their biographies, reveal other differences that are primarily linked to employment. Geographical mobility, for instance, has fallen greatly over the time during which community life is being reviewed. When this decrease is examined in a little more detail, however, the change does not represent so radical a shift in attitudes as might be presumed at first sight. Choice was limited during the adolescence of cohort I and the low level of wages, coupled to an absence of all but the most rudimentary welfare provision, allowed the young people of that time very little choice in the matter

of employment. Consequently, the offer of employment was rarely refused and, since it often entailed residential work or living in "digs", a relatively high level of geographical mobility resulted. It is relevant to point out that this type of re-location was, with very few exceptions, regarded as a temporary arrangement and the people involved usually returned to the village when reasonable opportunities to do so occurred. Young people returned to their homes of origin and men to their homes of procreation. The decline in geographical mobility among the work force in general has continued, and is now largely confined to those categorized as professional class. It has extended to include a few men who are employed in the Middle East. Professionals now tend to move in the pursuit of the enhancement of career prospects. However, although there is a dearth of young professionals working and living in the village, there has been an increase in the number of those in the later stages of life. As the upwardly/geographically mobile retired and early retired, who are members by birth, tend to return, there is a marked increase of villagers of fifty-five years and more with professional qualifications.

There has been a rise in the overriding urgency to obtain full-time employment as the century has progressed. Yet, a considerable proportion of cohort III, in contrast to the membership of cohort I, did not accept available employment during the first few months after they entered the job market. The majority of them did not enter employment until after some form of training. Perhaps the same trend towards greater choice is also connected with the recent resurgence of the self employed worker, which followed an obvious decline during the middle part of the period being researched. Although apprenticeships have

dwindled during the century, more specialist skills and training are now accepted as the norm. Clerical employment, which became the preserve of former grammar school boys and privately educated girls, is now filled by young people who have had formal training in office skills.

Some widely held skills are declining to be replaced by others. Most men and some women, during the first half of this century would be expected to be skilful enough to cope with farm work, irrespective of their employment. The pressing need for the men to supplement their incomes, in order to provide basic necessities, has virtually gone, farming is no longer labour intensive and many of today's young adults lack these agricultural skills. However, with one exception, all the male survey subjects hold current driving licences and those who own motor vehicles carry out, to varying degrees, their own servicing and maintenance. Employment opportunites, in most fields, depend on driving ability rather than farm skills.

Some activities, such as leisure pursuits and employment, continue to be male gender biased but have never completely excluded women. Younger women who hold driving licences, find work driving waggons and "taxis" in the support service of the ambulance work force. However, few older women hold driving licences and certain skills formerly associated with women in the community, such as knitting and baking, have also declined. They are preserved, being part of the upsurge in leisure activities which has characterized community development. Women, who pursue these activities enthusiastically, are now as likely to direct their efforts towards winning a competition rather than feeding or clothing their families. Recent additions to this field of activity also include slimming clubs, women's clubs, holiday clubs, and classes in

subjects varying from the restoration of furniture to cake icing.

The increasing role of public servants in the life of the community, which was a feature of the change noted, has been accompanied by an apparent move away from the employment of local appointees in this capacity. Increased specialization, in respect of some of the functions involved, in conjunction with higher qualification requirements, have obviously played a part in this. One of the consequences has been a tendency to incorporate outsiders, in the persons of the holders of these posts, into the community. In many cases this has proved to be a permanent arrangement. Another effect of this general trend away from parochial bases has been the relocation of some of the centres for these services and a reduction of the number of functionaries in the North Tyne area. In other cases these tasks have been ceded to people resident in, or working from, Bellingham. Thus the village's importance as a local centre has increased during the period of time being examined.

EPILOGUE BELONGING

Aspects of modern life have prompted observations which emphasize change in some of the more fundamental social units, such as the size and composition of families and kinship groups. However, it is clear that many of the social bonds which reinforce the Bellingham community cultural background retain their strong cohesive force. Among the most potent consequences of this background is a sense of belonging, which has been evident throughout the course of this study. Spanning current community membership and reaching back into the past, it is one of the more obvious manifestations of the basic fabric of the community. As such, it merits a special mention of its own.

CONCLUSION

SENSE OF APPROPRIATENESS

Those who were firmly rooted in the community, especially those born and brought up there, regarded it as the natural place to live. For example, predominant among the reasons given for returning to Bellingham, whether after absences of a few months or a quarter of a century, was the comment, "Not the same is it?". It was felt that this alone was adequate communication, between community members, to convey the main body of major disadvantage that isolation from their common culture conferred. These remarks clearly echoed the observation of Cohen (1982), the "feeling of local distinctiveness" (p.1), which he sees as important. They also emphasized his comment that even though "one's culture is at the forefront of consciousness and social process", he does not "suggest that people are aware of it 'as culture' " (p.3).

His proposition that, "... they are aware of it through their identities as Whalsay folk, as Tory islanders, as Clachanites, as Kilbronie Protestants" (p.3) was self evident during part of the data gathering stage of this study. Without exception, every interviewee, who was born or reared in Bellingham, used the pronoun 'we' to indicate community members during the course of our discussion. They knew who belonged. The idea that the community of origin is, in many important ways, a particularly appropriate cultural milieu for the individual is neither new nor unorthodox.

Cicourel (1973), for example, argues that the social interaction, which provides the background for an individual's day to day life, imparts a bias to that individual's view of the world, since it affects his/her perceptions. He explains that this occurs because of the way in which differing representations of actuality are generated by different

social groups. This is clearly a reasonable explanation of the development of social norms and cultural values. Such a view of culture is in accord with Cohen's (1982) suggestion that "..... we might conclude that one of the primary experiential senses of culture is that it is our culture and that it differs from others" (p.5). Accepting this proposition clearly implies that a wide spectrum of commonplace, day to day activities and interaction will yield cultural and social traits peculiar to a particular community. Such is the case with Bellingham. In accord with other community members who have "lived away", minutiae such as practices and phrases, which are part of the current daily humdrum round of village life are evocative of my perception of the indissoluble bonds of community membership.

RELATIONSHIPS

Part of the sense of belonging which was evident when collecting research material about Bellingham was obvious, bearing in mind that in a widely accepted way most of the community members might be seen as belonging there in a rather literal sense. For example, most belong to widely based kinship groups that are firmly established. However, even their connections in this sense are much more intricate than might be readily apparent. This finds echoes in Fox's (1982) observation that "....some connection by kinship or marriage can be traced between any two people on the (Tory) island" (p.53). Today, with the exception of very few incomers, limited to people moving into the village in pursuance of professional careers, such as the bank manager, the forester and the local G.P., the same is true of the Bellingham community (see p.369/370).

CONCLUSION

As Cohen (1982) found on Whalsay "...family names have changed substantially through affinal absorption" (p.30). Nevertheless, kinship ties are numerous and complicated. Often the mode of reference to events or people of the past are testament to this. For example, it may be explained to an incomer that someone's mother was an Armstrong of Percy Street or a Riddle of Blakelaw. This is intended to convey a precise kinship connection, which is not apparent from the name of the person concerned. Even when surnames are indicative of kinship, a community surname or suffix may have evolved to indicate the branch of one of the more numerous surname groups. For instance Billy Shaftee is used to denote Billy Armstrong's membership of a particular branch of the Armstrong family and Norman Pin distinguishes another. As Mewitt (1982) found on Lewis, "Nicknames bestow on the person an identity" (p.239).

In a similar manner to that outlined by Fox's (1982) report that Tory Island people can be members of several descent groups (p.56), so Bellingham villagers may be members of several community lines of descent but one may be more important than the others. The multiplicity of community-wide kin ties is further complicated and reinforced by other family links arising from affinal connections. There exist "multiplex social relations" such as those described by Cohen when he refers to the crofting villages (p.242). Such webs of family relationships are overlaid by the membership of groups such as neighbourhood enclaves and those associated with work, church attendance or hobbies. Hence there are multiple attachments, both direct and indirect, between one community member and the rest, constituting a junction of links to several family groups which provide further proliferation of implied alliances.

These various combinations imply the existence of shared values, which contribute to a singular cultural orthodoxy and a resultant sense of security. This is an integral part of daily life in the community and daily life elsewhere, bereft of this, presents a distinct void. A short time spent attending to day to day business in the village soon provides an instance of one of the more overt manifestations of this. For instance, children or young people, whose conduct or demeanour fail to meet accepted standards, are liable to be spoken to with varying degrees of severity by any adult member of the community. Should they reject or ignore the reprimand, their parents will be the recipients of complaint and criticism and lose community status if they fail to attend to the matter. Control such as this is a form of caring which is a source of security to both parents and children but it has another purpose. Young newcomers are integrated into the community by those who belong.

As with other features of community support, this appertains to village residents only and its precise character is dependent upon the singular cultural standards of the community. It is, therefore, unlikely to be duplicated by any other social group, despite a similarity of some of the settings. Since such a unique support system is absent elsewhere, separation from the community group is a deprivation and is likely to cause a potentially stressful situation. In some cases this may be ameliorated, to some extent, by the passage of time, as friendships and social connections are generated in the new locality, but the only immediate relief of this pressure is a return to the community of origin. An action such as this, according to subjects of this study, has an immediate effect. This being so, it is understandable that the

propriety of a community, such as Bellingham, as the natural place of residence is virtually unchallenged in the minds of its members.

URGE TO RETURN

This sense of deprivation, which is generated by detachment from the community generates a powerful urge to return. In the experience of more than one of the survey subjects, this was so potent that it prevailed in the face of good sense and adversely affected their life chances, in respect of factors such as career advancement and financial security. For example, Selwyn, a graduate, resigned from a managerial post in the Midlands to return and work as a labourer for the Forestry Commission and Norman resigned from a post with British Rail, which he had held for over fifteen years, in favour of a labouring job on a local estate, when the closure of the local railway line necessitated his relocation to the county of Durham.

However, the severity of the consequences of disconnection is clearly much more than the effect of the removal of a support system. By the time community members have reached the age when they are old enough to be in a position to make major decisions concerning their own future, they have grown into the mould of the community. For example, the cultural environment has provided them with sets of standards, some of which constitute a moral code, which is in some respects peculiar to their village.

Their basic communication skills are also affected by this. They have names for themselves and their fellow members that differ from those on the relevant birth certificates and a set of names of geographical features which have never been on any map. Their means of

communication provides them with an idiosyncratic version of a dialect, which is itself virtually unintelligible outside their own area of the country.

Thus, conditioned by one community, an individual moving to another community, or living outside a community, presuming this is possible, finds daily life difficult, if not mystifying. Not being attuned to the newly encountered social mores, the individual, subject to culture shock, is inept and at a disadvantage of such magnitude that he/she is socially maladjusted and stressed. In the new location the individual finds himself/herself in a situation where the bulwark of his/her personal identity, kinship connection, appears to be meaningless, a blow of some magnitude to community members who found themselves in that situation. Theresa explained that, "If y' left here at fourteen and cum back at sixty y' just need to say, 'A'm a Welton f' Noble Street' 'n that wad be enough... but when y' away y' a proper stranger - at first anyway". In alien communities, Bellingham community members, accustomed to being greeted by everyone they met, felt ostracized when this was not so in the new situation, Alan recalled, "Some o' them just looked through y' as if y' wan't there". Lack of familiarity with social identities of the the people with whom they were interacting also created a feeling of uneasiness. There was a feeling of vulnerability arising from an ignorance of the reliability of information obtained in social exchanges. For instance Goodwin, explained, "When y' gan any where different it taks a lang time afore y' really kna wee y' dealin' with". In addition a sense of being subject to deviant sanctions was prompted by the incomprehensibly of many of the social exchanges, because of either the unfamiliarity of the themes and personalities

involved, or an apparent exclusion from this form of interaction. An example of this was Jason's comment, "When the' did talk t'us A didn't kna what or wee they were on aboot".

Other aspects of community life are role assignment and social status. This is more than community assessment or community control, it is the allocation of an individual's place in the community. This is incorporating the individual into the actual structure of the social group, a place in the natural order of things as a community member might see it, or a position in the "collective identity". As such, this gives an individual a sense of incompleteness when faced with the different mores and standards of an alien culture. The ensuing sense of isolation is an additional source of stress.

In such a case the urge to return is understandable but perhaps the most overt example of a strong sense of belonging, which generates such an urge, was evidenced by the comments of one community member who spoke of his experience of a life threatening condition during his military service. He related that, under the circumstance, he was "glad to get back". When this was interpreted as relief on returning to the care of a skilled British medical team, in the London hospital to which he was transferred, he corrected the assumption, explaining that he felt if he were to die he would rather die "among his own folk... back home".

BENEFITS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The benefits which are so readily available to the community membership are part of a system of provision and obligation which is one of the mainstays of community life. Although this network of support is more evident between kin and within neighbourhood enclaves, it extends

throughout the community. Consequently morality, in the context of Bellingham cultural standards, incorporates implicit duties as the need for them arises. The readiness with which these duties are acknowledged and the conscientiousness with which they are met obviously vary from individual to individual. Hence social pressure, which includes a corrective factor, is of considerable importance. Nevertheless, such responsibilities are rarely neglected. When it is necessary for someone else to make good his/her deficiency, except in exceptional circumstances such as illness, general criticism is evoked which entails considerable loss of social status. These duties are an integral part of community membership and, as such, are not negotiable.

Living outside the community hampers the discharge of these responsibilities, in some cases almost totally precluding their acceptance. This bears down upon the individual who is the expected donor in two main ways. First, the community culture accords status implications to the performance of these duties. These range from the acknowledgement of the maturity necessary to discharge responsibilities to admiration of personal qualities, such as the acumen, skill and efficiency displayed in the course of completing the tasks involved, and the seniority accorded to the decision makers who take charge of particular situations.

The second source of pressure stems from the sense of duty evoked by the situation. This, being part of his/her culture, is accepted as a fact of life by the potential donor. Failure to attend to this duty generates a sense of guilt, which is concerned with the consequent feeling of indebtedness of one who has received, and will be offered in the future, but has consciously chosen a life style which prevents

giving in return. Absence from the community, in such a situation, may be accepted as extenuating circumstances, in respect of such shortcomings. A member's dilemma, with regard to the matter of discharge of such responsibilities, may elicit a degree of sympathetic understanding from a wide spectrum of the membership. However, he/she can no more be totally absolved from accountability than change his/her kinship group. This is implicit in some of the actions and comments of community members resident in Bellingham. For example, one telephoned an expatriate member to let her know of a property that had become vacant in the village, obviously assuming that, in order to help to care for her aunts, the expatriate would be "moving back". On another occasion one community member said, of a man who had left the village over forty years earlier, "A kna he mebbe feels settled away - but he shows nee sign o' comin back to see to Joe". When an input is called for, the resulting situation emphasizes to all members, including absentees, that their natural habitat, the place where they truly belong is within the confines of the community.

THE ENDURANCE OF THE SENSE OF BELONGING

Apart from those survey subjects who had been absent from Bellingham for very short periods only, the general opinion was that, once an intense period homesickness was past the feeling of deprivation which they experienced, as a result of separation from the community, was attenuated by the passage of time. There was, however, total unanimity, in respect of all who had been away, or continued to live elsewhere, that the sense of loss was never entirely obliterated, and bouts of nostalgia for Bellingham, not always unpleasant ones, were

regularly experienced. These were easily, and often unexpectedly, triggered during the course of their day to day living experiences; usually by partially comprehended sights or sounds which stimulated a resonance within the wide range of cultural background that was such an elemental part of their consciousness.

An inescapable conclusion, from the findings of this study, is that the sense of belonging engendered by community membership is permanent and beyond the control of any community member, resident in Bellingham or not. As Mills pointed out, shared learned values have become part of personality and what is socially expected has become individually needed (1959, p.29).

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

WARWICK UNIVERSITY, COVENTRY. QUESTIONNAIRE.

Bellingham work & family dissertation. No:-

Date of Interview Male/Female	/ / .
Age last birthday	years.
Home place (birth+)	

Employment, 1988/89.

EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED
self-employed/employee	retired,reg.unemployed, long-term sick, house person
occupation	Occupational Identity yes/no If yes, occupation
job description	job description
supervisory yes/no	supervisory yes/no
size of establishment	size of establishment
spouse's job	
belonging to a social class	yes/no
if yes, which?	

Community name:-

APPENDIX I

No:- .

FAMILY HISTORY

:- Each interviewee will have his/her family history recorded with particular regard being given to three stages where appropriate.

1. FAMILY OF ORIGIN n.b. Fill in 1a and/or 1b.

H denotes householder.

1a.

Position in family. Ring interviewee, indicate year of birth & job.									
Mother	Father	Sibling1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Year of birth									
		m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f

FAMILY OF ORIGIN additional or alternative information

1b.Position in family. Ring interviewee & name others

Year of birth									
		m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f
job									

Year of leaving family of origin . Reason for leaving:-

APPENDIX I

No:- .

Other members of household during interviewee's childhood

Relationship	When resident in household	Reasons

2.FAMILY OF PROCREATION - year of marriage .

- year of setting up elementary household .

Fill in 2a and/or 2b.

2a.
Position in family- Ring interviewee

Mother	Father	Sibling1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Year of birth									
		m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f

2b.FAMILY OF PROCREATION marriage/non legal marriage 19 .

setting up household 19 .

Position in family- Ring interviewee

Year of birth									
		m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f	m/f

APPENDIX I

No .

	Year of leaving family home	reason for leaving/destination
sibling 1.	19 .	
sibling 2.	19 .	
sibling 3.	19 .	
sibling 4.	19 .	
sibling 5.	19 .	

2. Other members of household

Relationship	When resident in household	Reasons

APPENDIX I

No:-

KIN:- relations who lived within walking distance of household.

1.FAMILY OF ORIGIN.

household 2	household 3	household 4	household 5	household 6
household 7	household 8	household 9	household10	household 11

2.FAMILY OF PROCREATION:-indicate K re. kin & A re. affine.

household 2	household 3	household 4	household 5	household 6
household 7	household 8	household 9	household10	household 11

APPENDIX I

No:- .

JOB LADDER

Method of obtaining work	Job	reason for leaving
age yrs. 6.	job 6.	6.
age yrs. 5.	job 5.	5.
age yrs. 4.	job 4.	4.
age yrs. 3.	job 3.	3.
age yrs. 2.	job 2.	2.
age yrs. 1.	job 1.	1.

School 1.	school 2.	school 3.	leaving age	further education

APPENDIX 2

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

N.B. The order of the topics was unimportant. The most important point was to let the interviewee talk about his/her work. Notice was taken of special circumstances e.g. in war-time and ways in which their work had changed.

THEMES & TOPICS brought up during semi-structured interview.

I Family of origin (orientation)

(A) CARING

a.caring for children (age 5?)

b.caring for sick

c.caring for old

d.availability & access to health care

(B) INCOME & EXPENDITURE

e.income from employment

f.paid work during evenings, week-ends and/or holidays

g.other work or goods which earned cash

h.income support, pensions, income from property etc.

i.in the home e.g. clothes, toy, furniture rug making, etc

j.around the home e.g. eggs, vegetables, birds, animals

k.neighbourhood e.g. sticks, wild fruit, animals, eggs

l.major expenses

(C) WORK IN & AROUND THE HOME

m.work in the home/ cleaning

n.work in the home/ washing

o.work in the home/ ironing, drying, airing.

p.meal preparation, serving & clearing

q.bathing & personal hygiene

r.decorating & spring cleaning

s.cleaning windows

t.cleaning surrounds e.g. steps

u.doing the garden

v.keeping animals or birds

w.unpaid seasonal work e.g. farming, forestry, mart, shows etc.

x.clubs, churches, societies, Councils

II Family of procreation

(Most questions were covered by asking how different life was after marriage and when his/her own family was growing up.)

III Depleted family stage

(Questions regarding the present time).

Details of Survey Subjects, 1989/90.

KEY * Descendant of Thomas Armstrong, an immigrant (born 1799).
m Married to a descendant of Thomas Armstrong.
§ Member or affine of one or more Bellingham Kinship Groups

COHORT I

MANUAL WORKERS - Men

CI*001 Cyril
Born in Bellingham in 1928, he has lived there ever since, apart from two weeks lucrative employment cutting timber. He volunteered for redundancy payment when Blaxter quarry closed and is a roadman.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/3

CI*002 Goodwin
Born in Bellingham in 1928, he was admitted to an orphanage, for five years, at the age of nine and then placed in residential work until joining the army for National Service. He returned to his family of origin after two failed marriages and currently drives a local mini bus.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/4

CI§003 John
Born in Bellingham in 1928, he began his working life as a farm labourer for Kathy's (045) father and moved on to forestry. After two years National Service he returned to the same occupation.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/2

CI*004 Norman
Born in Bellingham in 1923, he has lived out his life there, apart from a few months before he resigned his post with British Rail following a transfer to County Durham. He recently retired from his employment with the Water Board.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/5

CI§005 Johny
Born in 1924, he spent most of his childhood and early married life in Bellingham. In receipt of disability pension, in respect of injuries sustained in the army. He was in full-time employment as a fitter (mechanic) until he returned to Bellingham on his retirement.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/2

CI*006 Billy
Born in Bellingham in 1924, he has lived there since, as a tenant of the Duke of Northumberland, apart from army service during World War II. Voluntarily redundant from Blaxter Quarry, he is now widowed and severely disabled by arthritis.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/1

APPENDIX 3

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS

CI$007 Teddy
He was born in Bellingham in 1926 and lived there until he began a grammar school education. After war service and early marriage, he returned as sub postmaster, during the procreation stage. He retired early because of ill health.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/3

CI$108 Bobby
He was born, in his grandmother's home, in 1920. He left Bellingham before being sent to be educated at public school. He returned, after war service and university, to farm nearby until retiring into Bellingham. A poet.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/3

CI$009 Lance
He was born on a farm in 1919, into a family of tenant farmers who had farmed the same land for two centuries and subsequently bought it, after World War II. He is now retired and confined to a wheel chair.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/2

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS

CI$310 Joe
Born in a nearby village in 1926, he attended Bellingham R.C. Church throughout his childhood. After a series of labouring jobs, he joined the Police Force, and is now sub-postmaster in Bellingham.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 7/8

CI$011 Selwyn
Born in Bellingham in 1920, he attended Grammar School. Taken prisoner at Arnhem, he went on to successfully complete a university course before returning to the village where he worked as a forestry labourer, until taking a teaching post in the village school. He is now retired.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CI 312 Cliff
Born in 1920, in Durham, he came to Bellingham as a bank manager in 1963 during the procreation stage of life. He is spending his retirement there.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 8/8

MANUAL WORKERS- Women

CIm013 Rene
Born in Bellingham in 1928. After only two weeks residential work in a hospital, she returned home and worked part-time as a maid before joining the W.R.N.S. Married, she works part-time in Hazel's shop.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 3/5

APPENDIX 3

CI*014 Biddy
Born in Bellingham in 1922, she worked part-time as a kennel maid until sixteen years of age, then as a residential maid, in the village. After her marriage she lived on a "Duke's" small-holding. Now widowed, she lives in the village in a "Duke's" cottage.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/5

CIm315 Marget
Born in a neighbouring village in 1897, she was hired at Hexham hiring mart to work at a Bellingham farm. Recently widowed, she has lived in a "Duke's" cottage since her marriage.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/8

CI§216 Doris
Born in 1918, she was brought to her parents' village of origin during childhood. Having worked "at place" as a residential maid, she enlisted in the WAAF in World War II. After marriage, she worked as a barmaid and, now widowed, she lives in an "old people's bungalow".
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 4/4

CI*017 Isa
Born in 1899, she has lived out her life in Bellingham and, apart from one year, in a "Duke's" house. Widowed shortly after her diamond wedding, she continues to live, next door but one to Marget, her sister-in -law (315).
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 6/10

CI§218 Rosa
Born in 1927, she returned in early childhood to her mother's family of origin to join an extended family group on a farm. After attending a private secondary school, she was employed as a clerk. She now works, part-time, as a shop assistant and lives, with her husband, in property she inherited.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/2

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS- Women

CI§219 Joan
Born in 1926, she arrived within her family of origin who bought the Rose & Crown. After private school education, she found employment in an office before joining the WRNS. She is married to Teddy (007).
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 2/4

CI§220 Peggy
Born in 1908, she was adopted by her aunt and, has lived on the same site, of the family shop/smallholding. Twice married, she is now widowed, and lets the land and continues to run the small shop on her own.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/2

CI§321 Dorothy
Born in 1916, she came to Bellingham during the procreation stage of life. She left the village after her husband's death, but returned three years later to take over the village cafe/snack bar, shortly after World War II.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 3/4

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS- Women

CI 322 Mary
Now a widow, she was born in 1922, in Newcastle. She came to Bellingham with her mother in 1940, as a war-time measure, married and settled there.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/4

CI§023 Jean
Born in Bellingham in 1904, she attended grammar school before teaching in local schools. Retired, and unmarried, she lives, alone, in her home of origin.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/3

CI§324 Angela
Born in 1918, in Whitley Bay, she was a widow with one child when she married Bobby (108) in 1945. She has taken an active part in local government.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/1

APPENDIX 3

Details of Survey Subjects, 1989/90.

COHORT II

MANUAL WORKERS - Men

CII$025 Willie
Born in Bellingham in 1934, he left first for National Service and then to take up a residential gardener's job following marriage. He returned soon after, later buying the small-holding where his mother was born.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 3/3

CII*026 Jackie
Born in Bellingham in 1930, he left for National Service and later for two weeks lucrative employment felling timber. Married twice, he has lived in Bellingham and currently is employed on the squire's estate.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 3/3

CII$327 Joe
Born in a nearby village in 1930, he married and settled into the village in 1953, when he was employed at Blaxter quarry. He is currently employed by the Water Board.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 8/10

CII$028 Derek
Born in Bellingham in 1938, he has lived there since. He married an incomer, a teacher, and has been employed since his late teens, by the county highways department, on road repairs.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 3/3

CIIm029 Alan
Born in Bellingham in 1936, he left to join the Merchant Navy. He was absent from the village from then until his mid twenties, during which time he completed his National Service and worked on a farm in Lancashire. On his return he married. He is employed by the River Board and rents a smallholding.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/1

CII$030 Gordon
Born in Bellingham in 1938, he has lived there ever since. After marriage, he became a council tenant in a kinship enclave. He is employed as an ambulance driver.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/3

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS Men

CII*031 Leslie
Born in Bellingham in 1937, he has lived within his family of origin apart from an absence during National Service. A bachelor, he is a partner in a butchers' business and owns the two adjacent shops.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 5/6

CII§032 Graham
Born, in Bellingham in 1929, he has resided there since, apart from one year when he lived on his grandfather's farm and two during National Service. Married, he runs the building firm begun by his grandfather.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 3/4

CII§033 Bill
Born in Bellingham in 1932, he spent three years in the Forces, before moving to Hexham, to work on the maintenance staff of a local department store. He returned with his family of procreation, in 1978, and continues to work in Hexham and commutes daily with his wife.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 4/5

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS Men

CII 334 Mick
Born in a Durham mining village in 1944, Mick came to the village as Church of England priest. He lives apart from his wife.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CII 335 Trevor
Born in 1950 in the Midlands, Trevor settled with his wife in Bellingham in 1988. An agricultural lecturer, he is currently attending a university course in Durham and commutes daily.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/2

CII§336 Bob
Born in 1950, in the Punjab, he is a member of an immigrant family, who settled in Birmingham shortly after his birth. His wife has family connections in Bellingham. He divides his time between Bellingham and Tees-side, where he lectures at the Polytechnic.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 3/8

MANUAL WORKERS- Women

CII§337 Daphne
Born in a nearby village, she attended Hexham Grammar School and moved with her family of procreation to Bellingham early in her married life. Since then she has been employed in a variety of unskilled part-time jobs.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/2

CII§038 Marg
Born in Bellingham in 1937, she has lived there since. Now widowed she resides on a council estate and works part-time in a grocery shop.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 2/2

CII§039 Joan
Born in Bellingham in 1937, she entered residential work, prior to serving in the Forces. After a failed marriage, she returned as part of a one parent family to live in an inherited house and is employed as a cleaner.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 3/3

APPENDIX 3

CII§340 Ann
Born in Hexham in 1939, she came to Bellingham within her family of procreation in 1978. She is currently employed as a seamstress at Hexham hospital and commutes daily (wife of 033).
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/2

CII§041 Theresa
Born in Bellingham in 1931, she was "sent to place at fourteen years of age". She returned before marriage and spent her early married life there. She returned on retirement with her husband and two of her adult sons, and runs a small "bed & breakfast" establishment.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/3

CII§342 Gillian
Born in a nearby village in 1951, on marriage she came in to Bellingham to live within her husband's family until allocated a council house. She works part-time as a surgery receptionist.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS- Women

CII*043 Hazel
Born in Bellingham in 1930, she was sent, with her two brothers to orphanage, at 7 years of age and returned at 15 to an office job. She left in her early twenties for a residential post and returned with her family of procreation to take over the bakery shop.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 2/4

CII§244 Kathleen
Born in 1933 in the Rede valley, she was brought into Bellingham on her mother's marriage. She married a displaced person and the family of procreation was forced to move, but returned shortly afterwards. After the marriage failed, she moved to a different part of the country but returned after seven years. She lives in a council house with her step-father's nephew and helps to run a cafe.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/3

CII 045 Kathy
Born in 1942 in the Bellingham district, into a farming family, she has lived on the Demesne farm since early childhood. She is a working farmer.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 2/2

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS- Women

CII§046 Jane
Born in 1932, she left the village to train as a teacher and subsequently married a farm worker. She has always worked full-time. After a failed marriage during the seventies and recent retirement after her 'live in' partner died, she lives in her own bungalow in the village.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CII§347 Margaret
Born in 1940 on a North Tyne farm, her second clerical post was in the village garage. She subsequently married the proprietor and has lived in the village ever since, where she is employed, part-time as registrar.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CII§348 Jill
Born in 1945, in Northumberland, she came, in 1975, as deputy head teacher to Bellingham school, after holding other teaching posts including one abroad. Settled there after marriage, to Derek (028).
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/2

APPENDIX 3

Details of Survey Subjects, 1989/90.

COHORT III

MANUAL WORKERS - Men

CIII§249 Robert
Born in Hexham in 1968, he came to Bellingham with his family of origin at the age of nine, and has lived there ever since. Currently employed in a village butcher's shop (031's business).
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 4/4

CIII§050 Martin
Born in Bellingham in 1967, and brought up by his grandparents, he currently lives and works in the village, being employed as a waggon driver.
Family of Origin Type of family Never nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIII*051 Michael
Born in Bellingham in 1962, he currently lives and works in the village, being employed as a plumber/electrician by a small village firm and residing with his parents.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/1

CIII052 Jason
Born in Bellingham in 1970, he currently lives with his family of origin and works as a casual labourer.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/1

CIII§353 Jonnie
Born on Tyneside in 1961, he came to Bellingham to take up a job with the Forestry Commission. After marriage to a local woman, they moved to Norfolk to a gamekeeper's post. Two moves later, they returned and he secured the post of assistant caretaker at the local school.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIII§054 Tom
Born in 1954, he lived for a short time in a nearby town. He returned with his family of origin to his parents' home village. He currently lives in the village with his partner. He is employed at the Kielder Dam.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/2

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS Men

CIII*255 Neil
Born in 1966, he came to Bellingham with his family of origin in early childhood. He now lives and works in the village bakery shop, with his parents (043's business).
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/2

CIII$356 Chris
Born in 1954, in Hexham, he came to Bellingham with his family of procreation, including his Bellingham born wife, and currently works as a jobbing builder. Not of the Percy Street kinship group.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 4/5

CIII$257 Tony
Born in 1958, he came to Bellingham in childhood with his family of origin. He now lives with his second wife in the bungalow he built. He works from Bellingham, being a self employed plant hire owner driver.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/2

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS Men

CIII$058 Raymond
Born in 1964, in Bellingham. After attending Teeside Polytechnic, he took up a post as a trainee manager. He lives in the village, temporarily, and commutes.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/3

CIII359 Davy
Born in 1956, in Scotland, he came to Bellingham, in 1988, to take up the post of forester after his marriage.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 4/4

CIII360 Mike
Born in 1955, he came to Bellingham, in 1988, with his family of procreation to take up the post of methodist minister.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/4

MANUAL WORKERS- Women

CIII$061 Gillian
Born in Bellingham in 1968, she currently lives in the village and holds a clerical post in the Kielder dam administration. Grand-daughter of 321.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/1

CIII*262 Dianne
Born in 1964, she came to Bellingham with her family of origin in childhood, and now lives in the village bakery shop, with her parents. She commutes to a clerical post in Morpeth.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIIIm363 Mandy
Born in 1963, she came to Bellingham on her marriage. She lives and works in the village, being employed as a nanny.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/3

CIII$264 Catherine
Born nearby in 1961, she came to Bellingham with her family of origin in early childhood. She is now married and lives in Bellingham, near her parents.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIII§365 Christine
Born in Whitley Bay in 1955, she came to Bellingham, with her young daughter, after a failed marriage. She lives in the village and commutes to Hexham where she is employed as nurse.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 2/4

CIII§066 Christine
Born in Bellingham in 1966. After attending a residential course at Ashington College and a year working as a clerk in a local business, she left to work abroad for two years. She now lives in Bellingham and commutes to Hexham where she is employed in a clerical post.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 3/3

SELF EMPLOYED OR IN FAMILY BUSINESS- Women

CIII§067 Gillian
Born in Bellingham in 1959, now married with one child, she lives in the village, next door to her paternal grandmother.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 2/2

CIII068 Bridget
Born in Bellingham in 1965, she lives with her family of origin and works in the village bakery shop. Another group of 'immigrant' Armstrongs.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIII§369 Joan
Born in 1963, on a North Tyne farm, she came to Bellingham on her marriage to survey subject 257. Currently she has one child and lives in the village.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 4/5

PROFESSIONAL WORKERS- Women

CIII§170 Ann Marie
Born in Bellingham in 1955, she left the village, as a child, with her family of origin, and returned, with her family of procreation. She now lives in the village and is employed as a district nurse.
Family of Origin Type of family Some time nuc. Position in family 1/7

CIII371 Kath
Born in 1956, on a Northumbrian farm, she worked as a domestic bursar at Cranecleugh outdoor centre. She came to Bellingham on her marriage to subject 335 and currently has one child.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2

CIII372 Sue
Born in 1961 in Lancashire, she came, recently, to Bellingham on her marriage to survey subject 359. She now lives in the village and commutes to Otterburn school where she is employed as a teacher.
Family of Origin Type of family Nuclear Position in family 1/2